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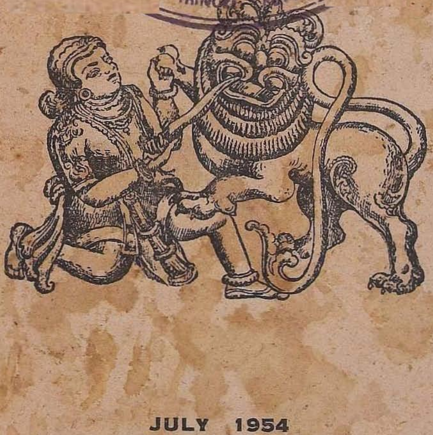

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BANGALORE-2.

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The
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Vol. XLV] JULY 1954 [No. 1

EMINENT WOMEN OF KARNATAKA

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO

THE women of Karṇāṭaka have not lagged behind the women of other parts of India, in making their own glorious contribution to our common culture. They have distinguished themselves in all walks of life, as administrators, poetesses (both in Sanskrit and in Kannaḍa), heroines, philosophers, literary geniuses, philanthropists, beauty queens, religionists, and patrons of art, architecture, learning, music and dancing. Brief biographical sketches of only the most prominent of them are given below, on account of limited space. Each of the various ladies mentioned herein stands as an example of one or more of the different categories stated above. The sketches are given in chronological order, in order to show that there has been a continuous line of illustrious women through the ages in this part of India.

Vijayamahādēvī, The Sarasvatī of Karṇāṭa
(*Circa* 659 A.D.)

As already mentioned women of the Kannada country have been distinguishing themselves in intellectual as well as other pursuits from very early times. We have the reputed example of Vijayamahādēvī the poetess from such an early period as the fifties of the seventh century,

Sanskrit anthologies quote a number of excellent verses of a poetess named Vijjakā, Vijayāṅkā and Vidyā.[1] The Sanskrit poetess has been, on good grounds, identified with Vijayamahādēvī the queen of Candrādityadēva, a king of the Cāḷukya family of Bādāmi. She is as well known from inscriptions as from literary sources. Inscriptions describe her as the beloved queen (*priya-mahiṣī*) of king Candrāditya, son of Pulakēśin II and elder brother of Vikramāditya I.

This queen is known to have composed a number of verses in Sanskrit showing high poetic merit. One of the verses attributed to her may be translated as follows : 'Not knowing that I, Vijjakā, am dark like the blue lotus, Daṇḍin has wrongly said that that Sarasvatī is all white.' This verse shows that the talented lady considered herself as proficient as Sarasvatī, the Goddess of learning though, unlike her, she was dark in complexion. It also indicates that she was known by the name of Sarasvatī. This is supported by a verse of Rājaśēkhara who praises her poetic gifts. He says that like Sarasvatī, Vijayāṅkā of Karṇāṭa was, after Kāḷidāsa, the abode of the *Vaidarbhī* style. That she regarded herself a poetesss of great merit is evident from one of her verses which says that she, the beloved of the king of Karṇāṭa, would bow only to three poets, *viz.* Brahmā, Vyāsa and Vālmīki, but would place her left foot on the heads of later composers. The Karṇāṭa-rāja who was her husband is described by her in a verse of *double entendre* which says that he subdued Aṅga, Kuntala, Cōḷā, the Madhyadēśa and took possession of Kāñcī.

In inscriptions she is called Vijayabhaṭṭārikā and Vijayamahādēvī. Only two of her inscriptions, both copper-plate charters, have come to light. In one of them she is stated to have granted some fields in the village of Tarakāgāhara to Āryasvāmidīkṣita, the son of Svāmi-Caturvēda and the grandson of Gṛhapati of the Vatsa *gōtra*. This record is dated in the fifth year apparently of the reign of Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-681) her husband's brother. The other document likewise registers a gift of land made

1. Some scholars hold that these three names refer to three different persons. But I follow Mm. P. V. Kane in considering the three to be identical.

by her to a Brāhmaṇa in the village of Koccuraka, identified with the modern Kochrēm in the Ratnagiri District, Bombay State. The provenance of the first record is Nerūr in Sawantwadi, Bombay State, thus showing that the scene of her activities was largely in these regions.

Kuṅkuma-Mahādēvī (*Circa* 708 A.D.)

Among the early philanthropists, we may mention Kuṅkuma-Mahādēvī, the younger sister of the Cāḷukya King Vijayāditya (696-734 A.D.). This lady is known to have been responsible for the construction of a Jaina temple (*Jina-bhavana*) at Purigeṟe, (modern Lakshmēśvara, Dharwar District, Bombay State). This temple was called *Āne-sejjeya-basadi*, possibly because of its large size. From epigraphs we learn that even in the twelfth century, this celebrated temple maintained its high reputation. This religious place was honoured by king Vijayāditya who made the gift of an entire village called Guḍḍigeṟe, for its maintenance inclusive of repairs and additions; for the expenditure connected with the worship of the deity; and for the upkeep of a free feeding house.

As another example of the liberality of Kuṅkuma-Mahādēvī, we may refer to the gift of a village called Lōhagañjavāṭaka that her brother made at her request to a Brāhmaṇa. She is also known to have performed the ceremony of *Hiraṇya-garbha*, which involved in her case, the presentation of such costly things as elephants and chariots.

From one of the inscriptions which mentions her, we learn that this pious lady was the wife of the Ālupa king Citravāhana, who was ruling over Banavāsi. He is described as a king, who had earned a reputation for generosity and valour and was responsible for the extension of the Cāḷukya power. Kuṅkuma-Mahādēvī, being born in the Cāḷukya family, which was noted for its benevolence and being the wife of a liberal minded king, naturally possessed a charitable disposition.

Lōkamahādēvi (*Circa* 740 A.D.)

In the galaxy of noteworthy patrons of art and architecture, the Karnāṭaka country also can boast of many names. As early as

the eight century A.D. Lōkamahādēvī, the principal queen of the Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya II of Bādāmi, distinguished herself as a lover of architecture by encouraging in various ways many of the architects of this part of the country, who were responsible for the construction of some of the finest monuments in India. The temples constructed by them are excellent examples of what has come to be known as the Cāḷukyan style of architecture.

The temple of Lōkēs'vara (now known as the Virūpākṣa temple), at a place called Paṭṭadakal (Bijapur District, Bombay State), was built at the instance of the queen, who was so pleased with the grandeur and sculptural beauty of the building that she made her husband bestow the title of Tribhuvanācāri (the best architect in the three worlds) on the principal builder, Guṇḍa *alias* Anivāritācāri. She also had the fillet of honour conferred on him in appreciation of his extraordinary craftsmanship. Further, in recognition of the skill of the builders of this temple, she exempted the entire artisan class of that district, from the payment of certain taxes. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy calls this temple "One of the noblest structures in India."

Her encouragement to the fine arts is evident from the fact that she honoured the musicians and dancers (*Gandharvas*) by conferring on them a number of privileges and honours. One of these, by name Acala, seems to have founded a new school of dancing.

Another queen of the same king, by name Trailōkyamahādēvi was responsible for the construction of another temple, called Trailōkyēs'vara at the same place (*viz*. Paṭṭadakal). She perhaps drew inspiration from her sister, the chief queen.

It is clear that if it were not for the liberal patronage of such great personages as these, many of our great monuments and great works of art, symbols of our culture, would never have come into existence,

S'ilamahadēvī (*Circa* A.D. 786)

One of the most familiar examples known to history, of a king and a queen ruling jointly over a territory and having equal powers is that of Queen Mary and William of Orange in England late in

the seventeenth century. But this kind of joint rule was not unknown in India very much earlier than the seventeenth century.

One of the most renowned queens who had joint authority to rule over a much larger territory than Great Britain was an Indian princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty as early as the eighth century. This lady was none other than Śīlamahādēvi, wife of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Dhruva. History tells us that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were very powerful monarchs and that their empire was a very large one. It extended from even beyond the Vindhyas in the north to the kingdom of the Pallavas in the south. The extension to the north was due to king Dhruva, who also defeated the Pallava king as well as the Gaṅga king. The very fact that such a powerful ruler should hold authotity conjointly with his queen is an indication of S'īlamahādēvī's importance in the administration of the country. She was the daughter of a mighty monarch named Viṭṭarasa who had the titles of *Sarvalōkāśraya* and Viṣṇuvardhana (apparently Viṣṇuvardhana IV of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty). We learn from epigraphical evidence that this lady was as generous towards learned Brāhmaṇas as she was powerful. We also learn from the same source that she had the power to grant very large gifts without even the consent of her husband. A copper-plate inscription, records the grant of a village to two Brāhmaṇas taking care to specify the boundaries of the village so that there may be no room for unnecessary litigation. These two Brāhmaṇas to whom this gift was made are mentioned as great religious students, one of them being well-versed in the four Vedas. This is an indication that she made lavish gifts to those who were pursuing religious learning.

The order containing the grant is addressed to provincial governors (*rāṣtrapati*), district governors (*viṣayapati*), village officers (*grāmakūṭaka*) and other officers. The concluding portion of the record reveals to us that the officers who drew up the document carried out their duties according to the orders, not of king Dhruva, but of S'īlamahādēvī who is described as *paramēśvarī* and *paramabhaṭṭārikā* which indicate her paramountcy. All these show that she exercised supreme authority over the whole of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions.

There are other examples also of noted women who were great administrators but S'īlamahādēvī has been picked out to show the high degree of polity in the Karṇātaka country as early as the eighth century.

A famous Sanskrit poetess named S'īlabhaṭṭārikā has been mentioned by Rājaśēkhara (of the ninth century) as a peer of Bāṇa in the *Pāñcālī* style. Dhanadadēva also speaks of her as a renowned poetess and places her in the same class as Vijjakā. The suffix *bhaṭṭārikā* indicates that she might have been of royal descent and it is quite possible that this poetess and the queen S'īlamahādēvi are one and the same.

Dānacintāmani Attimabbe (*Circa* 993 A.D.)

In the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. there lived a lady who was destined to become famous as Dānacintāmaṇi Attimabbe. She was born in a family of learned men. Her grandfather was a renowned Jain named Nāgamayya who had two sons, Mallappayya and Ponnamayya. General Mallappayya, the father of Attimabbe, was a great scholar, a reputed astrologer, an excellent teacher of archery and a supporter of learning. He had another daughter, in addition to the aforementioned Attimabbe, named Guṇḍamabbe. These two sisters were married to Nāgadēva, commander-in-chief of the Cāḷukyan armies and son of Dhallapa, the prime minister.

In one of his master's campaigns, Nāgadēva was killed and his second wife, like Mādrī of the *Mahābhārata*, burnt herself on her husband's pyre. Attimabbe was persuaded not to follow her younger sister's example, because she had a son Aṇṇigadēva who was too young to look after himself. So, in order to bring up her only son, she determined to live; and what a glorious life it turned out to be!

She was a devout follower of Jainism and she was responsible for the spread of that religion which was at this period waning in its influence. As an instance, we may mention her work in connection with the preparation of a thousand manuscript copies of *S'āntināthā-Purāṇa*, a Jaina religious work of a court poet called Ponna, who was encouraged to write this famous religious book by

Attimabbe's father and uncle. We can well realise the enormity of the task of getting ready a thousand manuscript copies.

Like her father, she patronised a very famous court-poet called Ranna (the author of a very lively prose-verse composition in Kannaḍa called *Gadāyuddha*), who is responsible for giving us a good deal of information regarding his patroness. At her instance and on account of her generous help, he wrote a highly important religious work on Jainism entitled *Ajita Purāṇa*. This great Kannaḍa literary-*cum*-religious work would never have been written but for Attimabbe. The poet, in the first and the last sections of this work, glorifies his generous patroness in well chosen epithets like *Jinadharma Patāke* (the banner of Jainism) and *Dānacintāmaṇi* (the ever-yielding gem of gifts). Ranna also had such high regard for Attimbabbe, that he named his own daughter after her. She was also held in high esteem by the citizens of the Cāḷukyan empire and even by the emperor (Taila II) himself.

The fact that the title of *Dānacintāmaṇi* was well-merited, becomes evident when we know that she got made one thousand and five hundred golden images (set with precious stones) of Jina and gifted them to the deserving. From two inscriptions of 1007 A. D. found at Lakkundi (near Gadag) of the Dharwar District in Bombay State, we learn that she was responsible for the construction of a number of Jaina *bastis*. For the maintenance of one of these *bastis* she made a gift of a village named Suṟuki.

A number of miracles are attribnted to her. It is said that she determined to go on a pilgrimage on foot to S'ravaṇabeḷagoḷa to pay her homage to the gigantic image of Kukkuṭēśvara or Gommaṭēśvara. It is further stated that the moment she saw the image, there was a shower of rain to ease the strain of her journey.

Another miracle of hers has it, that at the request of the emperor, she tried to bring down the level of the water in the flooded Gōdāvarī. The account mentions that as she walked into the river with the image of Jina on her head, the Gōdāvarī calmed down at once.

A third wonder concerning her states that an elephant which was running amuck started saluting her the moment it beheld her.

She stands as a glorious example of what a cultured lady can do for religion, society and letters.

Akkādēvī (*Circa* 1010-1064 A.D.)

Among the famous heroines and administrators of Karṇātaka, the name of Akkādēvī stands very high. She was a Cāḷukyan princess who was ruling over various divisions of the Cāḷukya dominions, such as Banavāsi, Kisukāḍu and Māsavāḍi, for as long a period as nearly half a century. This great administrator was the daughter of Daśavarman and Bhāgaladēvī and was the sister of Vikramāditya V and Jayasiṁha II, both Cāḷukyan emperors of Kalyāṇa. She is described in inscriptions as a very Bhairavī in battle and in destroying hostile kings and whose feet were rubbed by the diadems of opponent kings, that is to say, who had subjugated a large number of enemies. She is also described as unswerving in her promises (*Ēkavākyeyar*). The seat of her Government was Vikramapura (modern Arasibiḍi, Bijapur District, Bombay State) which apparently got this name because of her (*arasi*—princess).

Akkādēvī seems to have married the Kadamba chieftain, Mayūravarman, who along with her was ruling Banavāsi in 1037 A.D. They had a son called Tōyimadēva, who was ruling the Banavāsi region, as a feudatory of the Cāḷukyan emperor, Sōmēśvara I in 1054 A.D. Her name is associated with the foundation of a number of temples. She also evinced great interest in promoting education. An inscription of 1021 A.D. says that she made a gift of a large plot of land for feeding and clothing five hundred students and provided them with free quarters. The fact that she reigned not only in conjunction with her husband, but also independently, is an indication that she was "a personage of considerable reputation and importance" in her time, and no less than three successive Cāḷukyan emperors had confidence in her administrative ability.

Candralēkhā or Candaladēvī (*Circa* 1080 A.D.)

Even in the field of beauty a Karṇāṭaka princess of the eleventh century won all-India renown. She was one of the

principal queens of the redoubtable Cāḷukyan emperor Vikramāditya VI who founded an era of his own called the Cāḷukya-Vikrama Era. We can get an idea of her beauty if we read the *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita* of Bilhaṇa, the Kashmiri poet who has celebrated in poetry the exploits of his patron Vikramāditya VI. We must read in particular those cantos of *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita* which deal with the description of the princess's beauty, where a minute inventory of the princess' charms beginning with her toe nails and ending with her raven tresses is given.

We learn from historical and other sources that this lady, Candralēkhā or Candaladēvī was the daughter of the S'ilāhāra prince, Mārasiṁha who was ruling over Karahāṭa (modern Karhad in the Satara district of Bombay State). Legend has it that since Candralēkhā had marvellous beauty, the goddess Pārvatī commanded Mārasiṁha to hold a *svayaṁvara* so that she might select a partner, worthy of her great charms.

The most well-known instance of a *svayaṁvara* in Northern India is that of Saṁyuktā, who finally eloped with Pṛithvīrāj Chauhān. But in the south, evidently it was only Candralēkhā who deserved one such. This is a clear indication of her extraordinary beauty. She must indeed have been the very queen of beauty in her time since princes from practically all over India attended the function. There was the lord of Ayōdhyā from the north-east, as also the kings of Cēdi and Kanyākubja. From the north there was the prince of the Carmṇavatī region. From the north-west came the princes of Mālawa and Gūrjara. And from the south came the Pāṇḍya and the Cōḷa princes. Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI was of course present and Candralēkhā chose him for her spouse.

It was not uncommon for the disappointed suitors to start a fight with the successful suitor. But fear of the great Cāḷukyan emperor restrained the suitors from starting a row when Candralēkhā rejected them.

There is also another piece of evidence which tells us of the incomparable beauty of Candralēkhā. Another Kashmiri poet

called Kalhaṇa in his work *Rājataranginī* says that king Harṣa of Kashmir on seeing a portrait of Candralēkhā, (after she had become Vikramāditya's queen) was so much overcome with passion for her that he even determined to lead an expedition against Vikramāditya, with the object of killing him in battle and carrying away Candralēkhā. But evidently better counsels prevailed and the proposed march against the mighty Cāḷukyan emperor was abandoned.

There are many roads to fame and the Karṇāṭaka Candralēkhā's lay through that of beauty.

Rebbaladēvī (*Circa* 1090 A.D.)

It is not members of royal families who are responsible for the construction of temples and for the institution of charities.

There have been notable examples of people who did not belong to the princely race, but who were as philanthropical as any king, queen or prince.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, during the reign of the Cāḷukya king Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI), a Brāhmaṇa lady, called Rebbaladēvī earned a great reputation for having built a temple to Kēśavadēva at her birth-place, Hūvinahaḍagali, in the Bellary district. This lady was the wife of a brave Brāhmaṇa general called Ravidēva, who was as charitably disposed as his wife and who established charities on the banks of the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā and the Narmadā.

Rebbaladēvī, besides building the temple in her native place, which was noted for its Vedic lore, made a large number of grants of many plots of land for the service of the deity. In addition, she made the necessary arrangements to establish and to maintain a feeding-house for Brāhmaṇas. She also arranged for the maintenance of a flower garden. Evidently, the temple became so popular that at the request of Rebbaladēvī's husband, the king made the gift of a whole village for the service of the same God. To show how well-known the temple became, we may also mention that a lady called Sōrikavve, made a gift of a large plot of wet land for

the service of the God. This temple is really a beautiful monument.

The author of such a charming shrine had many lovable qualities: she was a mine of *Dharma*; she was well-versed in learning and in the fine arts; and she was universally respected.

Kanti (*Circa* 1100 A.D.)

Kanti, the first great Kannaḍa poetess so far known, adorned the court of the famous Hoysaḷa King Ballāḷa I (who was a great patron of learning). To understand how important a poetess she was, we must know something about Nāgacandra, who called himself Abhinava Pampa and who was her contemporary in the same court. Nāgacandra thought so highly of himself — others also thought equally highly of him — that he felt that he had the ability to write as ably as the first Kannaḍa poet Pampa who had lived in the tenth century.

Often there used to be contests in poetical composition between Kaṇti and Nāgacandra. That she had the ability to cross swords intellectually with a poet of Nāgacandra's calibre is an indication that she herself possessed no mean intellect or poetical ability. Though born in a middle class family, by sheer merit she was able to find a place for herself in the company of great court poets like Nāgacandra. The verses which go by the name of "*Kanti Pampana Samasyegaḷu*" (The problems of Kanti and Pampa) are the main source of information about her. We learn for instance that Nāgacandra had a great ambition to be praised by Kanti. But Kanti would never praise him openly, though she had high regard for him. So in order to coax an eulogy out of her, he pretended to be dead on a certain day and had news of his demise spread throughout the town. Of course Kanti believed the rumour and lamented over his death selecting the highest possible epithets, calling him "the king among poets" etc. The ambition of Nāgacandra was thus fulfilled.

Some of her verbal contests with Nāgacandra are very interesting and can be read and enjoyed in the verses already mentioned.

That she was a poetess of a very high degree is borne out by the fact that a poet of a much later generation called Bāhubali (1560 A.D.) praises her in very laudatory terms, going to the extent of calling her Abhinava-Vāgdēvī.

S'āntaladēvī (1117-1131 A.D.)

It is well-known that during the Hoysaḷa rule were built some of the most magnificent Hoysaḷa temples of our land. One of the renowned royal personages of this dynasty was S'āntaladēvi, the senior queen of Viṣṇuvardhana. She was responsible for the construction of a beautiful temple called *Savatigandhavāraṇa-Jinālaya* at S'ravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa in A.D. 1123 and the installation in it of the image of S'ānti-Jinēndra. Not only was she a great lover and patroness of architecture but she was also a highly accomplished, cultured and charming lady. An inscription at Bēlūr in the Mysore State describes her as "proficient in all arts, an earnest student of the Bharatāgama, a crest-jewel in dancing, a Sarasvatī in singing." Another inscription at S'ravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa tells us that she was a "Bṛhaspati in discrimination, a Vācaspati in ready wit, the victorious banner of king Cupid, a lamp for the prosperity of her family and delighting in gifts of food, shelter, medicine and learning." It is remarkable that this lady who was a Jaina by faith not only assisted her husband, who was a Vaiṣṇava, in constructing many a noble edifice dedicated to Viṣṇu but she herself built the temple of Rāmēs'vara at Īs'apura and set up an exquisite image of Viṣṇu which goes by the name of Kappe-Cennigarāya at Bēlūr. Evidently on account of her religious toleration she is praised in the inscriptions as 'the cause of the elevation of the four *samayas* (creeds)' and 'a jewel of protection to all faiths.' She died at the *tīrtha* of S'ivagaṅge (near Bangalore) in A.D. 1131.

Akkamahādēvi (*Circa* 1160 A.D.)

Among the well-known Vīras'aiva literary geniuses, Akkamahādēvi or Mahādēviyakka holds a high place. Among the literary women of Karṇāṭaka few can claim equality with her. She was born in an ordinary lower middle class family at a place

called Uḍutaḍi. It is not surprising that she became even from her infancy a devout follower of S'aivism, considering the fact that her parents were great devotees of Lord S'iva. Since she was very beautiful, the chief, Kaus'ika, of her town desired to marry her. But she decided not only not to marry him (because he was not a follower of Lord S'iva) but also to renounce the world. She therefore became an ardent disciple of Basavēs'vara, the founder of the Liṅgāyat cult.

From this time onwards she started giving out many of her sayings which have become practically aphorisms, comparable in quality to those of Confucius. There is great poetical merit, simplicity of expression and reference to our daily cares, turmoils and tribulations in them. Every one of them ends with the word Cenna-Mallikārjuna, the god of her devotion. To show the universality of these sayings, which number over a thousand, a couple of them are translated below. The originals are of course in Kannaḍa in which she made these utterances, so that the common folk could easily understand them.

(1) Oh, foolish one, learn about Cenna-Mallikārjuna ; do not go to ruin by trusting your body. Fie upon this body ; what else is it but a vessel of filth, a pot of urine, a screen of bones and a receptacle of pus ?

(2) Listen, Oh lord Cenna-Mallikārjuna ! Having been born in this world, we must be calm without being angry in mind, if praises or censures are heaped on us Will it do to be afraid of wild beasts after having constructed our house on the top of a mountain ? Will it do to be afraid of waves and foam after having built our house at the sea-shore ? Will it do to be shy of sound after having made our home in the middle of the market-place ?

In addition to these sayings, Akkamahādēva is also known as the author of the following religio-literary compositions : (1) *Yōgāṅgatrividhi*, (2) *Sṛiṣṭiya Vacana*, and (3) *Akkagaḷa Pīṭhike.*

Evidently, she was so popular even after her demise that there came into existence, a work about her entitled *Mahādēviyakkana Purāṇa*, *i.e.* the story of Mahādēviyakka.

It is said that towards the close of her life she went to S'rīśaila to worship her favourite deity Cenna-Mallikārjuna in that place and eventually died there.

Gangādēvī (*Circa* 1360 A.D.)

It is well-known that the Vijayanagara kings were great patrons of learning, men of letters and of the fine arts like poetry and music. Among the ladies of the first Vijayanagara dynasty there was a famous poetess named Gaṅgādēvī who wrote a great Sanskrit *kāvya*, called *Madhurāvijayam.* In this work she has described in fascinating style the conquests of her husband Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka I, in the south. The work is not only of high literary merit but is also of great historical value as it gives a detailed account of the prince's campaigns. It is unfortunate that we know nothing more of this talented lady.

Ōduva Tirumalāmbā (*Circa* 1539 A.D.)

In the court of Acyutarāya, one of the later Vijayanagara kings, was a poetess of great merit, who was possibly employed as a "Reader" to the royal court, whose duty was, perhaps, the reading of poetical and other compositions to the harem as well as to the royal court. The name of this lady was Tirumalāmbā and she was popularly known as *Ōduva Tirumalāmbā* (Tirumalāmbā the reader). Evidently she was a genius, since she was an excellent musician and a grammarian, possessing in addition a good command of rhetoric and diction. She was a scholar of the Indian epics, poetry, drama and philosophy. Besides these accomplishments, she had many others as well, like being a linguist having a good knowledge of many languages and having the ability to write in many scripts. In addition to all these excellent qualities she must have possessed great beauty as well, for, emperor Acyutarāya became so enamoured of her that he elevated her to the position of one of his queens (*rāja-mahiṣī*). We learn most of these details from the epilogue to one of her works entitled *Varadāmbikā-Pariṇaya-Campū* which is a romance in Sanskrit celebrating the wedding of king Acyutarāya and his senior queen Varadāmbikā. It is learnt from epigraphical and other sources that

Varadāmbikā was the principal queen (*Paṭṭamahiṣī*) of Acyutarāya and it is interesting to note that a junior queen should have celebrated in song the marriage of her rival without showing any jealousy. Possibly she might have been a good-natured lady and written the prose-verse (*campū*) romance only out of regard and affection for Varadāmbikā. We also learn from the epilogue to the *campū* that she was a patroness of learned priests, scholars and poets and that she made liberal gifts and endowments to temples and other religious institutions. This poem also describes the birth of Prince Veṅkaṭādri, the first born of Varadāmbikā.

There are two sets of opinions regarding the literary merits of *Varadāmbikā Pariṇaya*. One is highly laudatory and the other is rather lukewarm. But it cannot be denied that the work shows that Tirumalāmbā was a highly educated and cultured lady, who wrote for the cultured and the well-educated. She was the only queen in her age who had the ability to compose a literary piece in a classical language.

It is known from epigraphical evidence that she composed two Sanskrit *s'lōkas* on the occasion of one of Acyutarāya's *dāna* ceremonies called *Ānandanidhi* and had these *s'lokās* engraved in many places. She composed another verse commemorating the king's gift of *Svarṇamēru* to Brāhmaṇas at Hampi in S'aka 1455 (1533 A.D.). It is also surmised that the three verses recording the king's *tulabhāra* of pearls at Kāñcīpuram in the same year were composed by her.

Cennammāji (*Circa* 1670 A.D.)

When the mighty Vijayanagara empire disintegrated, of the many viceroys who became independent rulers, the Nāyakas of Keḷadi became prominent. Of the later chiefs of this dynasty two people became rather well-known—the brothers Bhadrappa Nāyaka and Sōmas'ēkhara Nāyaka — in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was at this time that Sōmas'ēkhara Nāyaka's wife Cennammāji attained eminence. It may be surmised that the two brothers were ruling jointly round about 1661 A. D. and that Cennammāji also held authority along with her husband. Evidently she was a lady of great administrative ability since her

husband allowed her to hold the reins of government, not only when he was ruling along with his brother, but even later on when he himself was the sole monarch. Towards the later part of his life it was Cennammāji who was carrying on the administration of the kingdom, though she was doing it in the name of her husband.

After his demise in 1677 A. D. she assumed full command and ruled wisely and well for as long a period as twenty-five years. The principal sources of information about her are a Kannaḍa literary work entitled *Keḷadinṛpa vijaya* and an encyclopædia in Sanskrit called *Śivatattva ratnākara* the author of which is Hiriya Basappa Nāyaka, the adopted son of Cennammāji. From these sources, as well as from epigraphs, we learn that this lady distinguished herself by an act of heroism of no mean order: she had the courage to offer shelter to Rājārāma, the son of Śivāji who was being hotly pursued by the armies of the terrible Aurangzeb. Her courage does not stop with this only. When the Moughal forces of Aurangzeb had the temerity to enter her state to capture Rājārāma she routed them so totally that she came to be regarded as a very great heroine, who had the bravery to stand up against the imperial Muslim army. Aurangzeb was so struck with wonder at her heroism that he honoured her greatly by sending her valuable gifts. Another act of her military prowess was the defeat of the Mysore army led by Daḷavāyi Timmappa, when she took captive the Daḷavāi's son. She founded in memory of her husband a town called Sōmas'ēkharapura on the banks of the Tungabhadrā and presented it to the Brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the Vedas. This act is an indication of her generosity and respect for learning. We also learn (from the sources already mentioned) that she respected religion and combining religion with benevolence (since she was of a benevolent nature) she established, at a number of sacred places, permanent charities in her own name. These sacred places were Banaras, Rāmēśvaram, Tirupati and Śrīs'aila. In addition to these she built *mathas* for the itinerant Lingāyat monks (*Jaṅgamas*) and protected *dharma*. It is said that she administered her kingdom so well that her subjects, as well as others, said that

there was no other ruler who could match Cennammāji in nobility of character, in prowess, in charity and in devoutness.

Honnamma (*Circa* 1680 A.D.)

Literary genius is not confined only to the members of the Brāhmaṇa class, or to the Kṣatriya class. A woman belonging to the last class, namely the S'ūdra class, became very reputed as the writer of a socio-poetical composition in Kannaḍa. Her name was Honnamma and she probably belonged to Yeḷandūr (Mysore State). She was working in the palace of the Mysore king Chikka Dēvarāja. She was evidently the favourite maid servant of the chief queen Devājammaṇṇi. She was educated at the instance of the queen by a well-known scholar proficient in the four Vedas, in two Vedāntas and who was the author of a drama called *Mitravindā-Gōvinda*. This teacher, Aḷasiṅgalācārya, was evidently so pleased with the ability of his pupil, that he called her the goddess of charming literature (*Sarasa-sāhityada varadēvate*) and that she had learnt the secret of poetry, *alaṅkāras* and plays. This praise of a pupil by a teacher impressed the king so much that he told his queen to get a literary piece written by Honnamma. It is thought that the queen communicated the king's wishes to Honnamma, who wrote an important book called *Hadibadeya Dharma* which deals with the duties of a chaste woman (*Hadibade*, the *tadbhava* form of *Pativratā*). This book has become so popular that verses from it are sung even today. It is of value also from the point of view of history, since it gives the genealogy of the Mysore kings up to the seventeenth century.

Celuvāmbā (*Circa* 1725 A.D.)

Among the later poetesses of the Karṇāṭaka country, we may mention Celuvāmbā, the queen of Doḍḍa Kṛṣṇarāja, the king of Mysore. She is reputed as the author of a long poem called *Varanandī-Kalyāṇa*. She has also written lullaby songs on the greatness of God Veṅkaṭācala of Tirupati (*Venkatācala-māhātmya*) and on Alamēlumaṅgamma. She has in addition written a prose commentary on the *Tulākāvēri Mahātmya*. She states that she wrote the delightful *Varanandī-Kalyāṇa*, at the command of her husband. Her style is very mellifluous.

Heḷavanakaṭṭe Giriyamma (*Circa* 1750 A.D.)

The poetesses that have been mentioned so far do not belong to the Brāhmaṇa class. This does not mean that there were no poetesses belonging to this class. We have the excellent example of a devotee of God Raṅganātha, at a place called Heḷavanakaṭṭe, who was a Brāhmaṇa poetess. This lady is remembered for her devotional poetry and some of her well-known poems deal with the popular themes like the marriage of Sītā, the story Candrahāsa and the story of Uddālaka. Besides these, she has composed a number of songs which are quite popular even today. A point of interest regarding these songs is that even the *rāgas* are specified by her. We can recognise her compositions by the words "*Heḷavanakaṭṭe Rangayya*," towards the end of the pieces. All her works are in Kannaḍa. Tradition says that she lived at the village of Komāranahaḷḷi near Harihara (in Mysore State) about two hundred years ago.

Mahārāṇi Kempananjammaṇṇi Avaru (Died 1935 A.D.)

We may close this roll of honour with a short account of one of the towering personalities of our own times, *viz.* Mahārāṇi Kempananjammaṇṇi Avaru of Mysore.

In the year 1894, a great calamity overtoook the state of Mysore. The ruler, Chāmarāja Wodeyar X, died suddenly of a serious illness, on the 28th of December, and his orphaned children were very young minors, the eldest of them being a boy of only ten years. It was at this critical juncture that Chāmarāja Wodeyar's queen Mahārāṇi Kempananjammaṇṇi Avaru showed promise of great administrative ability. During the period of the minority of the heir, she was the Regent, and with the assistance of her able Dewan, Sir K. Seshadri Ayyar, she ruled the state very ably for a period of eight years.

She was a ruler who had great intelligence and tact. It was during her regime that a number of useful measures were introduced. Mention may be made of the construction of the Mārikaṇive reservoir, (Vani Vilāsa Sāgara), the establishment of a college for women

called The Maharani's College and the construction of excellent hostels for students, both at Bangalore and Mysore. Further, a liberal monetary grant and a large extent of land were given for the starting of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. Another of her noteworthy achievements was the starting and the successful implementation of the Hydro-Electric Scheme at S'ivasamudram, the first of its kind in South India.

To show how great a lady she was, we may quote the words of Lord Curzon when her regency came to an end: "I have pleasure in stating, that the smooth progress of events during the minority (of Krishnarāja Wodeyar IV) has been largely due to the unfailing tact and discretion of Her Highness..... ...She has set an example of public and domestic virtue, which has been of equal value to her people and to her family, and which has earned for her the admiration and the respect of all........ In recognition of these services, I had submitted to His Majesty, the King Emperor, the request that he would allow Her Highness, the salute of nineteen guns to be continued to her for life.......... ...... His Majesty has gladly consented to bestow upon Her Highness, this exceptional mark of favour."

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THE 'COWS' IN THE ṚGVEDA *

By Dr. V.M. Apte, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.)

The Cow, which even from a purely utilitarian (physical) point of view was to the Ṛgvedic Āryans the very realization, as it were, of their essential material needs in flesh and blood (and milk!) and which from a sentimental (metaphysical) point of view was the very picture of innocence, gentleness and benevolence come to life, was naturally so much on the brains of the Ṛgvedic ṛṣis that they are often tempted to exploit the word '*gáu*' for 'Cow' for allegorical purposes. The principal aim of this paper is to determine the precise allegorical import of the word in the Ṛgveda, because Indologists are divided in their views regarding its exact allegorical implication. It was a most agreeable surprise to the writer that the conclusion arrived at by him in this investigation lent incidentally unexpected support to the later identification of the cow with the Earth (or the Universe) and provided the *raison d'etre* for the veneration for (nay, the deification of) the cow—a subject of historical as well as topical interest to all Hindus. Thus a rapid and brief survey of the position of the cow in Indian life and literature from the earliest times to this day can not only explain the origin and evolution of this respect for the cow but will also be, at the same time, a fitting introduction to the philological inquiry in this article, since the Ṛgveda is the oldest literary document in the whole world and is *ipso facto*, the earliest record of Indian—nay, Indo-Āryan or Indo-European—literature and culture.

Cattle are naturally the most prized possession in an agricultural country like India. A deep reverence for the cow has been for ages past, one of the most fervent religious sentiments of the Hindus and that the flame of this ardent devotion keeps on burning brightly is seen from the attempts that continue to be made even to

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this day, in this secular state of ours, to institute a legal ban on cow-slaughter. In the early epochs of the Vedic age, in the period of the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, for example, the killing of animals involved in flesh-eating (which was quite common) was cleverly associated with and thus effectively restricted to the institution of the sacrifice, the conception of which was so liberalized as to include even the daily meal of the householder and his food offering to guests and the performance of which was recommended on every conceivable occasion. Even in the ritual ridden atmosphere of this age, the selection of the cow, the most cherished possession of the Āryans, for purposes of the sacrifice, from out of the numerous animal-victims prescribed is not a common or frequent choice but was dictated only by the desire of presenting the offering to an honoured guest and of performing the noblest of sacrifices. If milk and its various products constitute a most nourishing food and sustaining drink and if the utility of the ox, for agriculture, transport and as meat is unquestioned in any society, ancient or modern, it is hardly surprising that the cow, every part of whose body (even the dung and the skin) is useful to man should have been regarded by the Āryans as their most valuable possessions. In the days of the Ṛgveda, cows and bullocks constituted the chief form of wealth, being the mediums of exchange along with the *niṣka*. The gentleness and innocence of the cow made a special emotional appeal to the Āryans. The cow returning from the pasture-land in the evening and lovingly suckling her calf fastened by a rope, in the stall (Ṛgveda I.164.27-8) was one of the most gladdening sights to the eyes of the Ṛgvedic Āryans and the lowing of the milch-kine, the most enchanting music unto their ears. The raw (*āmā'*) cow, not always white, giving warm (cooked) and white milk always was a standing wonder, a grazing miracle to them. That, even in the days of the Ṛgveda, the position of the cow had become unique and that a revulsion of feeling against killing her even as a sacrificial victim was gaining gradually in intensity, is convincingly borne out by passages in the Ṛgveda, like the following :—" (The Cow is)

The mother of the Rudras, the
daughter of the Vasus, the sister
of the Ādityas (and) the navel of
immortality ; I should admonish
those who should know : "*Do not kill the*
sinless Cow—a veritable Aditi" (*R.V.* VIII.101.15)

The cow alone is honoured with the sobriquet : *aghnyā'* ('not to be killed') for example, in *R.V.*I.164.40 which implores the *aghṅyā'* to eat wholesome fodder and grass, to drink pure water while roaming in the pasture-lands and to bless the worshipper. In *R.V.*I.164.27, the *aghnyā'* is described as bellowing affectionately to greet her calf. This affection and this reverence for the cow evolved into a regular cult as a result of several contributory causes in later times. The formidable onslaught led by Buddhism and Jainism against *hiṁsā*, in general, that is, against all killing, helped in particular the formulation of a ban on cow slaughter and beef eating. Then again, the rapidly growing power and vitality of the Kṛṣṇa cult induced increasing veneration for, and virtual deification of the cow as the well-beloved charge of the cowherd Gopālakṛṣṇa (*lit.* 'Kṛṣṇa, the protector of the Cows'). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has many passages of idyllic beauty describing herds of cows hurrying home from the pasture-lands to their calves and others glorifying the cow, from a religious point of view. The Arthas'āstra of Kauṭilya mentions a special department under an officer for the preservation and propagation of the cattle wealth of the country. This regard for the cow went on gathering strength, until at last, in the recent historical period of India, Hindu kings are found taking pride in the title *gō brāhmaṇa-pratipālaka* ('Protector of cows and defender of the Brahmaṇas').

After this introductory survey we proceed to the philological inquiry into the exact allegorical significance of the word for 'Cow' ('*go*'', in the plural) in the Ṛgveda. Among the notable exploits of Indra which the Ṛgvedic pœts love to harp upon is the disclosing, the winning, the production, the release or illumination of (*i.e.* the restoration of light to) the Sun, the Dawn and the

Cows and the setting free of the Seven Sindhus by chasing away the darkness after bursting open the rock or mountain that enclosed the cows and after encompassing and killing Vṛtra and the other hostile demons. The (allegorical) nature of the '*Cows*' thus released remains a puzzle. And the mystery stems not from any linguistic obscurity which surrounds some words in the antiquated literature that the Ṛgveda is and which therefore compels exegetical speculation. An interesting aspect of the mystery is that it appears to fall into the category of other word-mysteries (allegorical or otherwise) for which the Ṛgvedic pœts have a peculiar penchant, a stylistic predilection (call it, weakness or strength) which was to flower later into the *S'leṣa* (*double entendre*) of classical Sanskrit literature. For example, the Ṛgvedic poet while describing the Soma plant and its juice, has all the time at the back of his mind a vision of the celestial Soma and his words are often applicable to either or both the conceptions of the Soma. The result is that whereas a veteran Vedist like Hillebrandt for a long time held the view that Soma throughout the Ṛgveda is the Moon, other scholars stoutly maintained that in the majority of the Ṛgvedic uses, the 'Soma' is just the plant and its juice going through the various processes of preparation that culminated in the invigorating drink that cheered but did not inebriate. Similarly when the Ṛgvedic ṛṣi manifested Agni, one often wonders whether he is visualizing Agni as the terrestrial form of the Sun or the Sun as the celestial form of Agni. As regards *gāvaḥ*—the cows—with which we are concerned here, Macdonell who has gone carefully through most of the important theories prevalent in his time remarks finally as follows:

"They are sometimes identified with the Waters and sometimes with the ruddy beams of Dawn."[1] This is, indeed, a counsel of despair, though a perfectly straightforward statement of the difficulty. It is one of the objects of this article to resolve this difficulty or, in other words, to determine the exact allegorical sense of the word *go'* in the plural, for 'cows', by examining the most typical passages in the Ṛgveda, in which there is very clearly an allegorical description of the 'Cows.'

1. *Vedic Mythology*. P. 59.

The most decisive passages in this connection are:—(i) *R.V.* IX.108,6[ab], tells us that Indra "with his might, cut out (a passage for) the cows (*gā'ḥ*) that were watery (*a'pyāḥ*) and ruddy (*usriyāḥ*)." This is a very unambiguous statement that *the Cows are the Waters* ('the watery cows' or 'the cows of the waters' meaning the same thing, namely, the cows=the waters); (ii) Since, from 1.33.10[d], we gather that Indra milked out (*i.e.* pressed or squeezed out) the cows *from the darkness, with the light*, the cows cannot be the beams of the Dawn, as the latter cannot be described as pressed out *from the darkness with the light.* Similarly (iii) when, according to III.34.3. Indra blazing furiously in the forest (forts) of Vyaṁsa, releaves the *cows of the nights*, the cows can reasonably be supposed to be not the beams of the Dawn but rather the cows of the waters, held in the grip of the nocturnal darkness within the prison of Indra's foes.

The following operations or events are described in the Ṛgveda as taking place *simultaneously* with the release of the cows or they are related to such release, as immediately preceding causes or immediately following effects. The antecedent circumstances forming the background of the 'Release-operation' are the following: (i) Indra makes *Va'jra* his ally, (I 33.10[c]); and then (ii) attacks Vṛtra, Vyaṁsa and other crafty demons and enemies (III.34,3[abc]); because (iii) these demons have imprisoned the cows within the mountain or the rock (IX.108.6); (iv) this latter is a place of confinement where the pitch-darkness of the nights reigns supreme (I.33.10[d]; III.34.3[d]): and (v) Indra triumphs and dislodges the so far immoveable rock from its position (VI.17.5). With the gates of the rock-prison thrown open, he sets free the ruddy cows (VI.17.6) *in an upward direction* (X. 138. 2[b]). Simultaneously with or as the direct and immediate consequence of this winning back *or* release *or* disclosing of the cows, the following results ensue: Indra has also won the Soma and set free the Seven Sindhus or the flood of waters for the resumption of their journey to the (celestial) sea (I.32.12[cd]; II. 19.3[ab]); he replaces the darkness not only with the cows but also with the Dawn and the Sun (I.62.5[b]). In other words, when he moves the mountain for freeing the cows, he mounts the Sun on to heaven; (1.7.3) or

produces the Sun (II.19.3[cd]), or re-illumines the Sun and the Dawn (VI.17.5[ab]), and heaven and the earth (VI.32.2). (To put the same thing differently) Indra deposits great lustre in the udders of the cow (III.30.14[a]) or cooked (milk) in her raw (udders) (VI.17.6). The result is the raw cow goes on bearing cooked milk which was, as it were, the sum total of sweetness stored in her for the nourishment (of the people) (III.30.14[bcd]; 34.9[b]). The dark cows *now* become suffused with light and look ruddy (I.62.9). The metaphorical nature of this operation is not left in doubt, when the mounting of the Sun into the sky is described as a simultaneous feat (VIII.89.7).

The obvious inference from these accounts is: The cows cannot be the 'beams of Dawn' because they are described as rotting in the darkness of the nights and because the cows are described as dark before Indra suffused them with light and made them ruddy, when he released them. But we are not left in doubt when we are told (III.31.4) that the grateful Dawns rise to greet Indra when he had become the Lord of the cows after his victory, implying that the Dawns are different from the cows.

The only alternative, then, is that the cows must be the waters and quite in keeping with this view is the reference to the swelling up of nourishment or of honey and food as a result of the release of the cows (VI.17.3; III.34.9 and X. 138.2).

We further get a glimpse into another cosmic event from these accounts, *viz.* the confinement of the *cows* within the rock-prison by hostile powers like Vṛtra led to a stagnation or suspension of the movements of the luminaries like the Dawn and the Sun who were held back and darkness ensued. *Now, this cosmic phenomenon is exactly what the Ṛgveda describes as happening when the movement of the Waters (ā'paḥ)* are blocked up and they are confined within the rock-prison by the same hostile forces, namely, Vṛtra and his allies. Thus the most striking corroboration of our proposition that the cows are the waters comes from the fact that the whole story of the *release of the cows* by Indra is in every detail (*language, motive* and *result*) but a replica, an identical version of the *release of the waters by Indra.*

The purpose of this Paper will not be adequately served however, if we merely established that the allegorical sense of the word for 'Cows' is 'the Waters' in the Ṛgveda. It will have to be explained *how* the release of the waters or cows could be simultaneous with the release of the Sun, the Dawn or the light, by a probe into the mysterious nature of these waters in the Ṛgveda. The writer has examined in detail the nature of the waters in the *R.V.* in his paper [2] "*Varuṇa in the Ṛgveda*" and the arguments advanced in that paper may be restated here very succinctly.

(i) The waters are both terrestrial *and celestial or aerial.* The attributes of the latter in the Ṛgveda cannot be satisfactorily accounted for, on the hypothesis that they are rain-waters.

(ii) The release of the waters and the breaking forth of the Dawn or the emergence of light are described as *simultaneous* events (I.164.51 etc.). In fact, the days, the light or the luminaries are described as *floating* on the surface of these waters (*cf.* VII.87.1).

(iii) The movement of the water and the spreading forth or upsurge of the rays of light stem from the same source and follow the same path of *Ṛ'ta*, so that when the waters were blocked up by Vṛtra, total darkness ensued.

(iv) These waters are described as moved *upwards* by Indra when discharged, *simultaneously* with the luminaries after the killing of Vṛtra (II.15.6). Their downward movement is, of course described as for example, when the Seven Sindhus are said to flow into the jaws of Varuṇa as into a surging abyss or ocean.

(v) The world is said to have consisted of nothing but undifferentiated waters in the beginning (X.82.6; 129.3). The waters are, verily, the *Creators* of the World (X.30.10).

(vi) The cosmic circulation of the celestial waters and the simultaneity of the free flow of the waters and the rising of the Dawn are *unambiguously stated in the Avesta.* The cosmic circulation of th waters is mentioned in Greek and Egyptian mythologies also

(vii) The celestial waters or watery vapours from which the world was supposed to have been created (according to the *S'atapatha Brāḥmaṇa* XI.1.6.1; *Aitereya Brāhmaṇa* I.1 and the *Manu-smṛti* I.9) and which pervaded the regions above, below and around the earth were envisaged by Ṛgvedic poets then *to be something like a mass of nebulous matter, serving as a medium for the transmission of light or the movement of the luminaries around the earth* (*Cf. the role of the ether of modern science*).

To sum up: *if* the 'Cows' in the Ṛgveda represent the waters (when described allegorically) and *if* these waters turn out not to be (as in our present investigation) nothing but the All-pervading cosmic waters or watery vapours, in the conception of the Ṛgvedic poets, then, we have the earliest possible genesis of that reverence for the **COW** which evolved and deepened later—the reverence for the **COW** as the 'Mother-Earth', nay, as an epitome of the universe, the reverence which crystallized finally, into an article of faith with the devout Hindus. If the cows began their (almost) prehistoric career (in the Ṛgveda) so gloriously, we are not surprised at the later belief that not only has the cow a *soul* but that she herself is also the *soul* of the universe.

LARGEST PROVINCIAL ORGANISATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A.

INTRODUCTION

There is a class of inscriptions in Tamil and Kannada which reveal to us the transactions of a number of large rural organisations that were functioning in different parts of the Dekhan in ancient times. They had their sphere of activity extending over a wide area covering as many as eighteen districts, with several subdivisions in them. Agriculture, administration, art, commerce, industry and trade were some of the main subjects that came under their purview. While the very existence of these organisations remains yet to be fully and properly recognised, it may be said that we know much less at present about the real nature of these institutions; whether they were subject to the control of the State or were independent and in either case their relationship with the government; their constitutional character; the different functions they discharged; the qualifications of their members etc. This being the case, any contributions made to clear at least some of these points will not be discarded. The present attempt, it is hoped, will provoke some scholars to bestow their thought on this subject which it certainly demands. At any rate it will be a distinct gain to know the number of huge organisations that existed in early times and the vital part played by them, in the social, political and economic life of the people of ancient Dekhan.

More than twenty years ago while I was editing the *South Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Volumes VI, VII and VIII, after passing the proofs of Volumes IV and V, I noted down the following few epigraphs among others that had been already published by me, as deserving of a critical handling. With the information that I have gathered both from Tamil literature and from other inscriptions, I present them in this article.

It is needless to say that one of the most attractive features in the ancient Indian constitution consisted in the formation, in very early times which may go back to the Mauryan and Pre-Mauryan days, of numerous rural organisations of varying dimensions and descriptions.

These organisations were popular in nature and representative in character, and were invested with wide administrative functions and powers, that practically belonged to kings and their learned councils. The government of the day kept strict watch over the activities of such organisations to check that the powers were not misused. When the bodies were found to have gone astray, the kings brought them back to their path ; but did not dissolve them or divest them of their powers.[1]

The existence and functioning of these bodies are very well reflected not only in the institutes of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Bṛhaspati, Nārada and other ancient law-givers of India, but also in the inscriptions that have been discovered in various parts of the country. Some of these inscriptions distinctly declare that the kings as well as the rural organisations strictly followed the law inculcated by Manu.[2]

Seven inscriptions are selected for detailed notice here as they throw light on the nature and functions of the biggest assemblies that existed in the land. The subjects dealt with by these assemblies covered almost all the important ones that should engage the attention of any government.

In presenting these inscriptions, the scheme followed is to give first the introduction (with translation) which furnishes all information about these assemblies, then an abstract of the contents and lastly to offer such remarks as are needed to elucidate them.

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1. Manu: Ch, VIII. Vv. 41-2.

2. *Cf.* செங்கோலே முன்னாக, நீதிகேட்டு நிபுணராகி மனுநெறி தழைப்ப, அறம்வளரக்கலி மெலியப் புகழ்பெருகப் பகைபணிய, and அறம்வளரக் கற்பமையப் புகழ்பெருக மனுநெறி தழைப்ப நிலையா யம் நடாத்துகின்ற, etc.

Numbers 40, 41 and 47 give a short introduction of what might be appropriately called 'the short descriptive title of the 'Provincial Assembly in charge of Administration and Agriculture.' This short introduction forms part of a fuller one found in numbers 129 and 442 which are also noticed at the end.

The contents of a few other similar records that afford help in the understanding of these inscriptions are also noticed in some detail in appropriate places.

These provincial assemblies were regularly constituted organisations. They were formed under the ægis of the government and were noted for their highly representative character. They carried out the functions of the State and stood responsible to it for the realisation of the legitimate dues, which dues had been fixed once and for ever in the law codes on all articles of production arising from private enterprise in rural areas. It appears that all industries without any reservation whatsoever were kept in the hands of private individuals. By a network of smaller rural assemblies of various descriptions which were spread over the whole country and were functioning under their guidance, as well as by the deputation from time to time of men from the central assemblies, the provincial organisations not only kept a watchful eye on the total industrial output, but also regulated the activities and bestowed their attention to the development of all industries that were working within their jurisdiction or province. The highly representative character of these autonomous bodies—which acted between the State and the people—won the confidence of the latter by attending to all their needs; and by zealously safeguarding the interest of the State and promptly realising its dues without any remiss, they were able to earn the good-will of the State.

The private parties, in whose hands the industries were left, being free from any pressure from above and free also from any kind of interference by the authorities, worked with commendable enthusiasm in their callings which were hereditary and best suited to their genius.

It needs no saying that different classes of industries were taken up by different castes or classes of people in ancient India.

Architecture, sculpture, painting, making of jewels and ornaments, wooden carvings and articles, metallic wares, weapons, armours, silk, cotton and fibre fabrics, attained a high degree of excellence, most of them being in the hands of hereditary families. For all kinds of articles produced in the land there was good demand. The ordinary people, the royal household, the numerous temples theatres and other institutions that were in the land consumed a good lot of the production. Besides there was a good international market. Ships with rich cargo regularly called at the Indian ports at stipulated timings and they were mostly in the night. The arrivals of the ships were hailed with joy by the expectant people who at the right time lit bon fires and put up lights for the guidance of the ships. Tradesmen and merchants were ready with their articles to be exported and eager for exchanging such things as were brought by the foreigners. Indian industry had a very successful and enviable career in the past. Not only were the products regularly consumed in India, but also there was constant demand from outside as is testified to by the quantity of exports. There could be no doubt that Indian industry contributed largely to the building up of the national wealth.

Labour was in good demand and was amply recompensed. It maintained, in ancient times, good relationship with capital. Agriculture was the foremost industry of the land and the people took to it with pleasure. It was regarded as the noblest of all callings. Sweeter far is the food earned by the plough than that secured by service. In fact the latter was condemned as "dog's living". "Get to plough and get excellence" is the ancient adage. Indian villages were noted for their cattle wealth. If it is remembered that within a few years of its building, the magnificent temple of Rājarājes'vara at Tanjore came to have amongst its possessions for the maintenance of perpetual lamps, more than 11,000 heads of cattle,[3] consisting of nearly 4,300 cows, 6,800 ewes and 30 buffaloes, one can imagine what would have been the number of cattle maintained by the peasants in the country parts for manuring the fields and for supplying milk, curd and ghee to the people. Cattle wealth continued to be the same till

3. Nos. 63-64 and 94-95 of *S.I.I.* Vol.II.

sixty to seventy years ago. Cattle manure was plenty and it was the only thing that was applied to the lands. On all the sides of an ancient village, there were cattle stands and they were auctioned or leased out and they fetched fair price. One of the Uttaramallūr inscriptions testifies to this fact.[3a]

Community of interest was the unifying force in the larger assemblies. It acted more powerfully than homogeneity which characterised the village assemblies of the *Ūr* and *Sabha*. In some of the *Nagara*, *Pura* and other organisations even homogeneity was not lost of, as most of the industries and works of art were left to be managed by specified classes or castes of people, being so decreed in the Hindu law codes.

A good part of the income of the king was derived from industry, commerce and trade conducted by the people and it even seems that this income was realised to the State by the rural assemblies of *Nagarattār* acting under the control of the provincial assemblies.

According to Manu the king's income from cow and gold was one-fiftieth [4] and from corn one-sixth, one-eighth or one-twelfth. The State could levy a tax of one-sixth on one's income from honey, butter, scents, medicinal herbs, extracts taken from articles, flowers, roots, leaves, vegetables, grains, leather, utensils, mud pots and stone vessels.[5] From artisan classes and artists, the king could get work for one day every month.[6] *Sruta-vidyā* (gains of learning), those that live by *vyavahāra*, *i.e.* by expounding law were not omitted to be taxed. [7]

According to Viṣṇu, the king can take from his subjects as tax (i) a sixth part, every year, of grain and other seeds,[8] (ii) two in a hundred of cattle, gold and cloths,[9] (iii) a sixth part of honey, flesh,

3a. No. 359. *S.I.I.* Vol. VI.
4. *Manu Ch.* VII. *V.* 130,
5. *Ibid.* *Vv.* 131 & 132.
6. *Ibid.* *V.* 138.
7. *Ibid.* *Vv.* 135, 137.
8. *Viṣṇu*, 22, 23.
9. *Ibid.* 24.

butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids, condiments, wood, leaves, leather or skins, earthen pots, stone vessels and everything made of split bamboos,[10] (iv) a tenth part of marketable commodities sold in his own country[11] or a twentieth part of goods sold in another (foreign) country.[12] Artizans, manual labourers and s'udras shall do work for the king one day in each month.

No. 40 of S. I. I. Vol. VI.

The text of the subjoined inscription is given in Tamil in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume VI, under general number 40. It comes from Mannārgudi in the Tanjore district and is registered as number 89 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1897.

There is at the beginning of this record a phrase *puyal-vāyttu* with which some of the inscriptions of the Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216) commence. The significance of this is not apparent. Perhaps it was intended to incise an inscription of Kulōttuṅga III and was given up.

After the auspicious words *Svasti S'rī* (*ll.* 1 f), a short introduction commencing with the word '*samasta-sāgara*' and ending with '*nigaḻāniṉṟa*' (*ll.* 2 to 5) is given. Though this precedes '*Sārigai-kōṭṭaiyil Bhuvanaikavīraṉ-maḍigaiyil nagarattōm*', it has to be taken with '*Nāṉgu-dis'ai padineṉ-viṣayattōmum*' that comes after. The scribe or the engraver has evidently committed a mistake here, as we know from other inscriptions that the introduction is one of the assembly of the Eighteen Districts and not of the assembly of the *Nagarattār*.

The inscription records (*ll.* 9 f) that the members of the assembly of merchants (*nagarattōm*) of *Bhuvanaikavīraṉ-maḍigai* and those of the assembly of the Eighteen Districts (*padineṉ-viṣaiyattōm*) who were engaged in righteously conducting the *samaya-dharma*, having assembled in full and without deficiency (*niṟaivaṟa-niraindu kuṟaivaṟa-kūḍi*) in the pavilion called

10. *Viṣṇu* 25.
11. *Ibid.* 29.
12. *Ibid.* 29.

Vikkiramapāṇḍiyaṉ-maṇḍapa of the temple of Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḻīs'-varam-uḍaiyār at Rājādhirāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam which was a free village in Suttamalli-vaḷanāḍu, held convincing discussions making all agree (*amaiyappēsi is'aiya-cheydu*) and made the following *samaya-dharma-kārya*, *viz.* the assignment to the temple, for offerings and repairs, the fees derivable on arecanuts, at the rate one *uḻakku* on every *podi* of the commodity that enter the S'ārigai-kōṭṭai and that even in cases when the article is managed to be taken out by other ways without passing through the *koṭṭai*, it is said, that this fee must be levied.

The transaction registered here is made conjointly by (i) the members of the *Nagara* (*i.e.* the mercantile organisation) of the Maḍigai in S'ārigai-kōṭṭai which is a local body and (ii) by the members of the assembly of the Eighteen Districts which is a provincial organisation. The inscription describes the latter as being endowed with 'patience and sympathy' and as being engaged in conducting with justice the *samaya-dharma*. The two bodies are here seen publicly exercising the powers of the State in the three actions they did, *viz.* the levying of fees on articles of merchandise, the assignment of the revenues so obtained to the temple and causing the engraving of the transaction on the temple wall. It may be said from these actions alone that the assemblies were not private bodies but were regularly (legally) constituted responsible organisations entitled to command the obedience of all people and were allowed either constitutionally or by delegation of powers, to excercise State duties. The commendable way in which the members are described and the dignified manner in which they are reported to have conducted their proceedings testify to their high degree of attainments and the regard which they commanded. At any rate there was nothing clandestine in their actions. Absence of community or personal interests or gain is a noteworthy feature. Another point to note is that the two assemblies were not religious in their character but were political.

The body of the *nagarattār*, as seen here, is a smaller group or organisation like the *sabha* and the *ūr*.

The designation *Padineṉ-viṣ'aiyattōm* assumed by the other body, indicates clearly that it was also a popular assembly like the

minor village assemblies and not one appointed by the State. It may be termed a provincial assembly as its function extended over a wide region covering Eighteen Districts which must have included in them several subdivisions and numerous villages.

The phrase '*niṟaivaṟa-niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa-kūḍi*' meaning "having assembled in full and without deficiency in number" shows that the assembly's first concern was to see that there was the required quorum. Further the clause '*amaiyappēsi iśaiya-cheydu*' meaning that the members of the assemblies held convincing discussions and brought about unanimous agreement among them, reflects the democratical nature of these organisations.

From the phrases '*kshamaivinōḍu karuṇai eydi*' and '*samaya-dharmam inidu naḍātti*' (*i.e.* endowed with patience and sympathy they conducted with justice the *samaya-dharma*) it is evident that the administration of justice was one of the principal duties of this big assembly and that the members had the ability to discharge it.

Some of the words used in the inscription, besides those that had already been noticed, may now be dealt with.

The word *samaya* is used in the compounds *samaya-dharma* (*l.*5) and *samaya-dharma-kārya* (*l.*20). The idea that comes foremost about *samaya* is that it stands for 'religious belief, doctrine, tenet or creed.' Each of the six *dars'anas—sānkhya, yōga, nyāya, vais'ēṣika, mīmāmsa* and *vēdānta*—is called a *samaya*. In Tamil *aṟu-samayam* stands for *S'aiva, Vaiṣṇava, S'ākta, Caura, Gāṇāpatya* and *Kaumāra*. As such *samaya* is synonymous with *mata*. The four S'aiva saints Jñānasambandhar, Appar, Sundarar and Māṇikkavācakar are called Samaiyācāryas. We have already shown that the assemblies are not of a religious nature, being purely political bodies as seen from their transactions and from the description given of them. Eschewing the idea of religion as ill suiting the bodies occurring in this and other inscriptions of a similar nature, we have to look for a more

probable explanation of the word. Nārada, one of the writers of Dharms'āstras defines *samaya* in the following words:

पाखण्डि नैगमादीनां स्थितिः समयः उच्यते
समयस्थानपाकर्म तद्विवादपदं स्मृतम्

Commenting on this Vijñānēs'vara, who flourished at a time when the rural organisations were in play, says: [13]

पारिभाषिक धर्मेण व्यवस्थानं समयः

From this, it is clear that *samaya* means a *vyavastha, i.e.* a rule, regulation, agreement or transaction made by such bodies as *Pākhaṇḍas, Naigama,* etc. Such a regulation, it is said, has to be obeyed as the king's own laws, if it is found to be in accordance with (*i.e.* not offending) the laws of the land. [14] The laws relating to any breach of the regulations of the rural bodies (*samaya-bhēda, samaya-vyabhicāra* or *samaya-langhana*) are dealt with under the section *samvid-vyatikrama*. From being the *vyavastha* of the rural bodies, the word *samaya* has come to denote the bodies themselves: and in this sense, we have to take the word, as it occurs in such compounds '*samaya-kārya*' and '*samaya-dharma-kārya.*' We need take no notice of the other meanings of the word such as 'time, limit, bargain, sign, end, poetical convention etc.' In passing we may note that *Vaijayanti* of Yādavaprāks'a has the following:

समयस्तु क्रियाकारे संकेते क्रिये सताम्
सिद्धान्ते शफते काले

i.e. samaya stands for performances of action, sign, actions of good men, system of philosophy, curse and time.

Other words that are worthy of mention are '*sārigai-kōṭṭai maḍigal* and *tirumalai*'. Of these, '*sārigai-kōṭṭai*' is not now in use. *Sārigai* means 'duty, toll, or fee' and *kōṭṭai* means a 'fortification.' As such, the compound '*Sārigai-kōṭṭai*' must

13. *Yājñavalkya Smriti.* Bombay Edition. P. 251.
14. *Yājñavalkya Samhita.* Chapter II. Verse. 186.

denote a fortified place where tolls or duties are levied on articles of merchandise, an emporium or warehouse. These fortified places appear to have been built by the State on highways through which most articles pass. Such highways were called '*ulguḍai-peruvaḷi*' or '*padi-pōgu neḍu neṟi*'.[15] This becomes evident by the reference in the inscription to *puṟavaḷi* (outside paths or by-ways). Tamil literature points to the existence of several such fortified places built in big streets containing palatial buildings, owned by merchants and where immense quantities of articles of various descriptions used to be brought from distant villages in the interior of the country and stored awaiting the levy of duties. Sometimes, it is said, they were carefully packed and labelled specifiying the name of the article, *i.e.* the contents of the package and the exact quantity in measure, weight or number. The articles remained locked in and guarded by alert watchmen appointed by the State as well as by men deputed by the owners of the commodities. The by-ways were secluded roads passing through forests. They were guarded by the stationing of warriors armed with bows and arrows in villages. These were called *kavalai* in Tamil classical works.[16] Paṭṭiṉappālai which speaks of the great emporium of Kaverippūm-paṭṭinam refers to the existence of a big warehouse in the place to which were taken large quantities of articles obtained from several places. These were charged duty before they were carried to ships and marked with the tiger emblem of the Cōḷa kings. Similar duties were levied on articles brought in ships and they were allowed to pass into the country with the royal emblem marked on them.[17]

Tirumalai has the peculiar sense of a sacred stone temple in this inscription. *Maḍigai* evidently stands for *Maḷigai* 'a ware-house.'

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15. Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, II: 65 and 79.
16. *Sāttōḍu vaḷaṅgam ulgiḍaipperuvaḷi kavalai kākkum villuḍai vaippiṉ viyaṉ kāṭṭiyaviṉ.* *Ibid.* I. 80.
17. Paṭṭiṉappālai. 1. 129 f. Niriniṉṟu nilattēṟṟavum nilattiniṉṟu nirpparappavum aḷand-ariyā=ppala-paṇḍam varamb-ariyāmai-vand-iṇḍi arun-kaḍi-pperuṅ-kāppiṉ valiyuḍai vall-aṇaṅginōṉ *puli porittu puṟam pōkki etc.*

The details of date given, *viz.* twelfth year, *makara*, *śu. di.* 7. Friday, *Rēvati*, correspond to A.D. 1288, December 31; and as such, it may belong to the twelfth year of Sundara Pāṇḍya II.

TEXT

1 Puyal vāyttu [I*] Suva-[18]
2 sti s'rī [I*] Samasta-s'ākara[19]-parama [ṉ][20]
3 [ḍa*] lattu kshamaiviṉoḍuṅkaru-
4 ṇaiy-eydi-chchamaiya-*daṇmai*[21]
5 y-inidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṉṟa S'āri-
6 g[ai]-kkōṭṭaiyil Buvaṉēka-
7 vīraṉ-maḍigaiyil Nagarattōmum
8 ṉāṉgu-disai-ppadiṉeṇ-vishaiya-
9 ttōmum Suttavalli-vaḷanāṭṭu-t-
10 taṉiyūr Irājādirāja-chchaturvēdima—
11 ṅgala [ttu Uḍai][22] yār jayaṅgo-
12 ṇḍachōḷīs'varamuḍaiyār tiṟuk-
13 kōyi [lil vikkirama]- pāṇḍi-
14 [yaṉ-maṇḍa] pattu niṟaivaṟa niṟaindu
15 [kuṟaivaṟa-kkūḍi] . . . . . .
16 . . . . . . yāṇḍu paṉṉiraṇḍā-
17 vadu Makara-nāyaṟṟu pūrva-pakshattu sapta-
18 miyum Veḷḷi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Irēva-
19 ti nāḷ amaiya=ppēśi iśaiya=chcheyda *daṇma*
20 Samaiya-kāriyam-āvadu [I*] Uḍaiyār Jayaṅ-
21 goṇḍachōḷīs'varamuḍaiyārkku i-chchār-
22 rigaikkōṭṭaiyil pugudum pākku-p-
23 podiy-oṉṟukku uḷakkāga vanda pā-
24 kku eḍuttu amudupaḍikku vēṇḍuva[23]
25 tiruppaṇikk[24]-uḍal-āvaḍāgavum [I*] u-

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18. Read *sva*
19. Read *sāgara*.
20. In the original what looks like an e sign is really the initial of ṉ
21. Read *dharmam*
22. The portion in [] and in subsequent lines has been supplied from No. 41.
23. Read *darkkum*
24. Read *kkum*

26 ḻlu-ppugādē pura vaḻi pōm pākku-p-
27 podikkum ippaḍi-kkoḷḷa-kkaḍavadāga
28 vum [I] ippadi-chchandirādittavar sellakkaḍa-
29 vadāgavum [I]ippaḍi sammadittu=*ttirumalai*-
30 yilē kal veṭṭi koḍuttōm Nagrat
31 tōmum Padiṉeṉ-vishaiyattōmum [II*]

Translation

Hail! Prosperity! We (the members of the assemblies) of the *Nagarattār* of the Bhuvanaikavīraṉ-maḍigai in S'ārigaikkōṭṭai and of the Eighteen Districts situated in the four directions, who are righteously conducting the *samaya-dharma*, with patience and sympathy, in the region surrounded by the four oceans, having assembled in full without deficiency in number, in the pavilion called Vikramapāṇḍiyaṉ Maṇḍapa of the sacred temple of Uḍaiyār Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḻī'svaramuḍaiyār at Rājādhirāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam, a free village in Suttavalli-vaḷanāḍu, on the day of *Rēvati*, corresponding to Friday and the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Makara* in the twelfth year of the reign of.........held convincing discussions, unanimously agreed and made the following *dharma-samaya kārya*:

The arecanuts, collected at the rate of (one) *uḻakku* on every *podi* of arecanuts that are admitted into the warehouse shall form the fund for meeting the requirements of offerings and repairs to the temple of Uḍaiyār Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḻī'svaramuḍaiyār. In the same manner (*i.e.* at the same rate) arecanuts shall be collected on each *podi* of arecanuts that may be carried in outer ways (also). In this manner shall this be done as long as the moon and the sun endure.

Agreeing thus, we (the members of the assemblies) of the *Nagarattār* and the Eighteen Districts had (the deed) engraved on stone in the temple.

No. 41 of S.I.I. Vol. VI (A.R. No. 90 of 1897).

This inscription registers a transaction similar to the one contained in number 40 noticed above. The duty leviable on pepper at the rate of one *uḻakku* on each *podi* of the commodity that enters the warehouse is hereby assigned to the temple by the same two assemblies.

The inscription is dated in the twelfth year of the reign of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Tribhuvanacakravartiṉ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva. It furnishes the astronomical details *Kaṇi su di* 13, Friday and *Svāti*. The late Prof. Keilhorn equated it with Friday, 13th September A.D. 1287: and remarked "The *tithi* which ended on this day is the 3rd, not a 13th *tithi* of the bright half." [25] But L.D. Swamikkannu Pillai noted against this date "This date must be transferred to A.D.1314."

It is worthy of note that both the inscriptions state that duty is leviable even if an article is carried by other routes than the main one. The passage of the article does not seem to refer to any clandestine method adopted by the party concerned. In such a case as that, the duty would have been accompanied by a fine.

Text.[26]

1 Svasti sri [II*] Puyal vāyttu [II*]
2 Svasti sri [II*] Sama[sta sāgara [27]]-pa[ri]
3 maṇḍalattu kshamaiviṉoḍu
4 karuṇai eydi-chchamaiya danmaiy-i-
5 ṉidu naḍātti nigaḷāniṉṟa Sāri-
6 [28] gaikkōṭṭaiyil Vikkirama pā-
7 ṇḍiyaṉ-maḍigaiyil Nāṉgu tis'ai [29]
8 ppadiṉeṉ-vishayattōm
9 Suttavalli-vaḷanāṭṭu=ttaṉiyūr Rājādhirā-[30]
10 ja-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu Uḍaiyār
11 Jayaṅgoṇḍa Chōḷīs'varamuḍaiyār tiru-
12 muṉ Vikkiramapāṇḍiyaṉ tirumaṇḍa-
13 battu niṟaivara niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa-kkū-
14 ḍi Srī-Kō-chchaṭaipaṉmarāṉa Tirupuvaṉachchak
15 karava [r *] ttigaḷ Srī Sundara Pāṇḍiyadē-
16 varkku yāṇḍu paṉṉiraṇḍāvadu- Kaṉ-

25. See No. 914 of the "*Southern List.*"
26. No. 90 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1897.
27. The letters in brackets have been supplied from No.40.
28. The *ai* sign is entered in the previous line.
29. The *sa* of *sri* is entered in the next line.
30. The length of *rā* is entered in the next line.

17 ṉi-nāyaṟṟu pūrva-pakshattu-trayōdas'iya
18 veḷḷi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Sōdi nāḷ amaiya-p
19 pēs'iy=isaiya=chcheyda Daṉma-samaiya-kāriya
20 māvadu Uḍaiyār Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ō-
21 ḻīs'varamuḍaiyārkku yi-chchārigaikkōṭ
22 ṭaiyu-ppugudum miḷagu-podikku=p
23 podiy [31]-oṉṟukku uḻakku miḷagum puḍa-
24 vai [32] kaṭṭu oṉṟukku paṇam māgāṇiyum
25 ippaḍiyāl uḷḷadu eḍuttu-kkariy-amudukku
26 vēṇḍuvadu koṇḍu nīkkiy-uḷḷadu tiruppa-
27 ṇikku uḍalāvadāgavum uḷḷu-ppugāde puṟa-
28 vaḷi pōm-avaiyum ippaḍi koḷḷakkaḍava
29 dāgavum ippaḍi chandrādittavaṟ s'ellakkaḍa
30 vadāga chchammadittu Tirumalaiyilē kal ve-
31 ṭti-kkuḍuttōm Nāṉgu-tis'ai-ppadiṉeṇ-
32 [vishaiyattōm [33]] [II*]

Translation of No. 41

Ll. 1-19 Same as for No. 40.

Ll. 19-27 On articles that may be admitted into the *S'ārigai-kōṭṭai* (warehouse) there shall be realised one *uḻakku* of pepper on every *podi* of pepper and one sixteenth *paṇam* on every *kaṭṭu* of ladies' clothings (*puḍavai*).

After giving what is necessary for the vegetable offering of the God, the balance shall be made to form a fund for repairs to the temple.

Ll. 27-32 Same as in No. 40.

No. 47 of S.I.I. Vol. VI. (A.R. No. 95 of 1897)

The inscription is engraved on the northern wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Aṉṉāmalainātha temple at Mannārgudi, Tanjore district and it belongs to the thirteenth year of the reign of Rājakēsarivarmaṉ Tribhuvanacakravartiṉ Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva. The title Rājakēsarivarmaṉ assumed by the king would indicate his identity

31. *e* sign of *po* is in the previous line.
32. *ai* sign of *vai* is in the previous line.
33. This line is completely damaged.

with the Kongu Pāṇḍya sovereign of that name whose accession took place in A.D. 1265. How his inscription finds place in the Tanjore district remains to be cleared.

This inscription also introduces the Provincial Assembly of the Eighteen Districts and states that the members meeting in the Bhuvanaikavīraṉ-maḍigai in S'ārigai-kōṭṭai made an assignment of the fee leviable on pepper, for repairs and offerings to the shrine of Uḍaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-Uḍaiyār.

The final sentence of the inscription "*ippaḍikku samayam paṇikka samaya karaṇattāṉ eḻuttu*" meaning "Thus, at the command of the *Samaya*, the accountant of the *Samaya* wrote" is worthy of note, as it fixes the meaning of the word '*Samaya*.' There could be no doubt that the word *Samaya*, as it here occurs, stands for the Assembly (of the Eighteen Districts)[34] and that *Samaya-karaṇattāṉ* means the accountant of the Assembly. The word *Samaya*, it may also be noted, can indicate any other similar body.

Text

1 Svasti S'rī [II*] Irājakēsaripaṉ
2 . . . .[35] Tribhuvaṉachchakkarava-
3 ttigaḷ S'ri Vīra Pāṇḍiyadē-
4 varku yāṇḍu 13-vadu Kaṉ-
5 ṉi nāyaṟṟu pūrva-pakshattu Tra-
6 . . . .[36] yum Veḷḷi-kkiḻamai-
7 yum peṟṟa Aviṭṭattu nāḷ Samasta
8 . . . .[37]
9 ruṇaiy=eydi samaya daṉamai inidu nadā-
10 tti niṉṟa Sāriyakkōṭṭaiyil
11 Buvaṉēkavīraṉ-maḍigaiyil Nāṉgu-diśai-
12 Padiṉeṉ-Vishayattōm iṟṟai nāḷil n. . .
13 gaḷil niṟaivaṟa niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa=kkūḍi emmi-

34. This has been inferred from the use of the word in No, I, above.

35. Read *mar-āṉa*

36. Read *yōdas'i*

37. This gap may be filled with the letters *sāgara parimaṇḍalattu kshamaiviṉoḍu ka* on the analogy of Nos. 40 and 41.

14 l-iśaindu amaiya = ppēśiy = iśaiya=chcheyda daṉma-
15 samaiya-kāryam=āvadu i=chchāriya-kōṭṭaiyi
16 l Uḍaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuḍaiyāṟku ti-
17 ruppaṇikkum kariyamudukkum . . . . . . [38]
18 . . . . [39] kku uḷakku miḷagāl va[n]-
19 dadu paṟṟi . . . . [40] kaḍavarāgavum [II] ippaḍi sammadi-
20 ttu kal veṭṭi kuḍuttōm Nāṉgu-diśai- Pa-
21 diṉ-eṉ-vishayattōm [I] Ippaḍikku sama-
22 yam paṇikka samaya-karaṇattāṉ eḻuttu [II]
23 Sūbham-astu [II*].

Abstract of Contents

Ll. 1-7. Give the name of the king and details of date.

Ll. 7-15. State that the Assembly of the Eighteen Districts met in the Bhuvanēkavīraṉ Maḍigai.

Ll. 16-21. Registers the assignment by the Assembly of the income arising from the levy of fees on pepper, to the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-uḍaiyār.

Ll. 22-23 f. As commanded by the Assembly (*samayam*) its accountant (*samaya-karaṇattāṉ*) wrote this (deed).

II

The inscription noticed hereunder is engraved on the northern wall of the first *prākāra* of the Tiruvikrama-Perumāḷ temple at Tirukoilur, Tirukoilur taluk, South Arcot district. It is registered as No. 117 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1900 and its text in Tamil is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Volume VII under General No. 129.

A short Sanskrit introduction of the two verses commencing with the words '*S'rīmatām Bhūmiputrāṇām*' with a descriptive Tamil passage, also in verse, beginning with the words "*Bhūmi-dēvikku makkaḷāgī*" forms the characteristic feature of what may

38 & 39. The letters lost here may be restored thus *uḍalāga i=chchāri gaikkōṭṭaiyil pugudum miḷagu podi oṉṟu-*

40. Read *kolla-*

be termed 'Provincial Assembly in charge of Administration and Agriculture.' This Assembly seems to have been so constituted as to represent all kinds of interest of the entire people in the province under their charge. It was called "*Chitramēḷi-Periya-nāṭṭōm*" (*l.* 7), "*Padiṉeṉ-viṣaiyattōm*" and "*Eḻubattoṉpadu-nāṭṭu Padiṉeṉ-Bhūmi* (*Viṣayattōm*)" (*l.* 8). The first of these designations shows that the assembly concerned itself, among others, with agriculture which formed the principal occupation of the people of the province; and the other designations show that the jurisidiction of the assembly extended over a vast extent of territory comprising of Eighteen Districts having in them seventy-nine subdivisions. This organisation had for its emblem an ornamental arch bearing the plough (*mēḻi-tōraṇam*) (*l.* 8).

The inscription under notice is of great importance as it describes the nature of the men who figured as members of the august body, their virtues (morale), their educational attainments and qualifications; the manner in which they discharged the duties that devolved on them; their relationship to the State and the high ideal and ultimate object they aimed at. The members, it is said, were the light of the four quarters (*ettis'aikkum-viḷakkāga*) and had the characteristic qualities of patience and sympathy (*kṣamaiviṉōḍum karuṇaiyeydi*); they had mastered the two languages, *i.e.* Tamil and Sanskrit (*Sen Tamiḻum Vaḍakalaiyum terin-duṇarndu*); they had listened to the disquisitions on the science of polity (*nīti kēṭṭu*) and were adepts in it (*nipuṇarāgi*); and had studied thoroughly the work called *Muttamiḻ-mālai* which, it is said, was very highly renowned for the high political ideals that it inculcated (*uttama nīti uyar perum kīrtti*). The members are further reported to have used sweet words and afforded protection to the law-abiding,[41] to have employed harsh words and removed the wicked (*iṉsollāl iṉid-aḷittu*[42] *vaṉ sollāl maṟañ kaḍindu*), and thus made the people of all parts of the country happy.

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41. The verb *aḷi* meaning the opposite of *kaḍi*, must have for its object *aṟum* the antonym of *maṟum* the expressed object of *kaḍi*.

42. *Cf. Kuṟaḷ*, Ch. 39, *V.* 7 and *V.* 4.

The effect of their administration was "that virtue prospered and vice was exterminated, fame spread and the country was kept in a flourishing condition all round."

It is specially worthy of note (i) that this assembly was subject to the supreme authority of the reigning king of the land and acted quite in conformity with the institutions of Manu : (This is gathered from the clauses "*s'eṅkōle muṉṉāga*" and "*manu neṟi taḻaippa*", and (ii) that the members comprising the body were drawn from all the four castes (*cāturvarṇa*). This last feature of the Provincial Assembly sharply distinguishes it from the smaller village assemblies, *viz.* the *Brahmanical Sabhā* and the *Veḷḷānvagai Ūr* which were noted for the homogeneity of their constituent members.

It is evident from the introduction that the primary object of the organisation was the increase of the agricultural wealth of the country, which formed the source of most of the industries, commerce, trade and arts and to enhance the beauty of the land and to keep it in a flourishing condition. That the body was particularly functioning for the cultivators and the members represented the landed interest of the villages is reflected in the orders contained in this epigraph which states that annually one *padakku* of paddy shall be set apart for each plough for the benefit of the temple; and that every individual—whether an actual cultivator or not—shall pay one *kuruṇi* of paddy for the same purpose.

Muttamiḻ-mālai. It has been stated above that the members of the Provincial Agricultural and Administrative body, had a thorough knowledge of a Tamil work entitled *Muttamiḻ-mālai*. Though this work, as many others referred to in inscriptions, has not come down to us, what is said about it, *viz.* "that it was greatly extolled for the high political wisdom which it contained goes to show that it was a treatise on political science. Ordinarily *Muttamiḻ* would be taken to mean the three classes of Tamil, *i.e.* *Iyal*, *Is'ai* and *Nāḍagam*. But that the work *Muttamiḻ-mālai* does not mean this, is made plain by the description given of it in the inscription itself. I may here note that in the historical introduction of the mediæval Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarmaṉ Tribhuvanacakravartiṉ Kulas'ēkhara found at Tiruvānaikāval, this work on political

science seems to be referred to in the shorter form *Muttamiḻ* and is rightly classed with *Manu-nūl, i.e.* the *Manu Dharma-S'āstra* and the *Nāṉ-maṟai, i.e.* the four Vēdas.[43] The very classification with the Dharma-S'āstra and the Vēdas might indicate that '*Muttamiḻ*' or '*Muttamiḻ-mālai*' was a Tamil manual of law drawn up for the guidance of the members of the Rural Assemblies composed of men drawn from all classes.

The words *kēṭṭu* and *kēḷvi* come from the root *kēḷ* to listen or learn by hearing discourses as in *kēḷvi Andaṇar,*[44] *kaṟṟilaṉ-āyiṉum-kēṭka* and *kēḷviyāl tōṭkappaḍāda.*[45]

In the text that follows, the words '*kṣamaivinoḍu karuṇai eydi samaiya daṉmam inidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṉṟa*' occurs in the short introduction of Nos. 40 and 41 of South-Indian Inscriptions Vol. VI, '*Nāṉgudis'ai Padiṉeṉ viṣaiyattōm*' taking the place of '*S'ittiramēḻi-Periyanāṭṭōm.*' The last portion of the text '*Uttamanīti, etc. Periyanāṭṭōm* occurs in No. 601 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902 followed by '*Nāṉgu-dis'ai Padi-neṉ-bhūmi dēs'i-tis'ai-viḷaṅgu tis'ai āyirattainūṟṟuvar and Pala-maṇḍalattunāṭṭu-cheṭṭi.*

(*To be continued*)

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43. See No. 426 of S.I.I. (Texts), Vol. IV.
44. Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, l. 315
45. *Kuṟal*, Ch. 42, *Vv.* 4 and 8.

REVIEWS

Sāsanavaṃsa—The History of Buddha's Religion. Translated by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D. Litt., F.R.A.S.B., F.R.A.S, (Hony.). Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co. Ltd., 46, Great Russell Street, London. W.C. 1.

OUR distinguished author and literary patron, Dr. Bimala Churn Law, has placed the lovers of Buddhist lore and Pāli literature under a further debt by translating the Sāsanavaṃsa, written in 1861 A.D. by a monk named Paññasāmi in Pāli for the benefit of certain Ceylon immigrants. Paṇnasāmi was the tutor of the then reigning king of Burma and a versatile author. The work concludes with a statement that it was completed in the year 1223 of the *Kali* age. Though a non-canonical text, it is full of interest for the student of the history of Buddhism and from the Buddhist ecclesiastical stand-point. It purports to narrate the history of the religion in nine countries, but in effect, the treatment is scanty except for Upper and Lower Burma and Ceylon. It is interesting to note that Burmese tradition gives the names of well-known names of parts of India and neighbourhood, to portions of Burma and neighbourhood. For example, the name Yonaka (*Yavana des'a*) is given to the country of Shan tribes, Banavāsi to the country round Prome, Aparānta to Upper Burma, Mahimsaka (*Mahīs'amaṇḍala*) to a district in Burma. The author gives both the localities in his general chapter. Justifying the identification of Vanavāsi, the author writes "The country called Vanavāsi was the place where stood the town of Sirikhetta (modern Prome)... ....." If it be asked "How is this known?" the reply is, "During the reign of a king who was the brother of this king of ours there was found in Sirikhetta an ancient inscription beginning with the expression. "This is for the worship of the inhabitants of the Vanavāsi country." Hence, this is how it is known. It is interesting also to note that Dvattaponga of Sirikhetta in Vanavāsi had three eyes, an appellation of the early Kadamban king, Trinētra Kadamba of Candragutti. Similarly in

talking of Yonaka country (country of Shan tribes) he quotes *Rājavaṁsa*, a work about kings of Burma, as referring to Elder Nāgasēna and concludes by saying that "during the time of Milinda .....the conqueror's wheel was established and advanced in the Yonaka country with the help of Elder Nāgasēna." Another item worthy of notice is the reference to the figure composed of man and lion used at Sudhammapura in the Suvannabhūmi country at the time of Sirimāsoka to drive out a water-*yakkini*—reminding one of Nārasimha.

A special feature in the general chapter giving the early history of Buddhism is the frequent refrain, moralising about the death and evanescent nature of life at the passing away of the leaders at each stage; for example "In the three worlds there is no such discrimination in the phenomenon of death," as "this one might be much loved, this one might be highly recognised, this one might be very much afraid of. It takes away even the best of men in the three worlds—the Blessed One himself." The high level of learning reached by women and their knowledge of grammar, in the town of Arimaddana is remarkable and so also the high regard the Burmese kings had to protecting properties dedicated to the Order. The author writes "In the *Rājavaṁsa*, it has been recorded that more than one hundred years since the *parinibbāna* of the Blessed One, a field was dedicated to a certain Elder by a certain female cake-seller in the city of Sirikhetta. That was plundered and seized by a king named Dvattaponka. Then the bells and drums that were struck made no sound......... And when the king came to know this he gave to the Elder as was done by the female cake-seller."

A. V. R.

The Key to Genesis
Evolution: Paradise and the Fall
The Book of Signs
Supplement to the Book Signs.

All the Four books by Dr. G.H. Mees, M.A., L.L.D. Published by. N. Kluwer-Deventer.

DR. MEES is well-known to students of Indian Religion and Culture by his previous works. In the books before us and two

other books 'Book of Battles' and 'Book of Stars' he sets forth his intuitions and researches in what he calls "Traditional Psychology." The author styles the third book before us and the two other books (of Signs, of Battles, of Stars), as "The Revelation in the wilderness dealing with the revelation of the meaning of the symbolism contained in the traditions of old in the wilderness of the mind and of the modern world—an exposition of Traditional Psychology." The two small books "The Key to Genesis" and "Evolution: Paradise and the Fall" expound the Root-Tradition, the study of which is elaborated in the three big volumes by a comparative survey of old traditions, symbols and myths from all ages and races. We shall briefly review the three books individually in the author's words, as far as possible and reserve our assessment to the end.

The Key to Genesis

In all parts of the world, established religion is the religion of the "Letter of the Law." The 'letter' is upheld at the expense of the 'spirit', at the expense of the spiritual life of man, for the spirit of the Tradition, that is, the language of symbols, has been forgotten long ago. It has become deeply hidden in the unconscious. The aim of religion is to make man happier and to help him to find peace and bliss within himself and in his relation to the world without. It does not make any one happier to know how the material world was created. The Book of Genesis does not describe cosmic and biological processes. Its purpose is more profound. The meaning of the basic symbols of the ancient traditions of mankind has been long forgotten, even though some symbolic implications have been preserved. But knowledge of a few words of a language does not give understanding. A symbol by itself has only a very vague inspirational value. A symbol grouped intelligently with other symbols in a myth, a ritual or some other tradition remaining over from more enlightened times contributes to a lesson in traditional psychology.

'Prophecy' is the 'forth-speaking' of the inner meaning o the Law or the Tradition: "blasphemy" is the 'hurt-speaking the wrong interpretation of the Law, based on the literal or rational

view, the literalism that kills. For, thought always stands in the way of the spiritual or inner functions of life. Literalism makes for divisions among men and creates sects, while the symbolic interpretation of the tradition makes for harmony among groups and unity of aim among men. This can be achieved only when the symbolic universality of the tradition is recognised. The killing power of literal and pseudo-rational interpretation is implicit in the verse of the Root-Tradition "Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shall not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." The spirit of the teachings is realised by the intuitive or prophetic function.

The universal symbolism which lies at the root of all great traditions suggests four aspects of scripture—the physical, the emotional, the mental and the spiritual, sensed respectively by the four functions of psychology—perception, feeling, thought and intuition. These, to which a basic fifth (insight and faith) is reckoned, are traditionally connected with the four elements (earth, water, fire and air), and quintessence (Ether) as the fifth.

The ancient traditional way of teaching was by myth. Mythological stories were 'inspiring,' they appealed to the function of faith and brought insight into the mystery of life. The purpose of myths was to bring all functions into play at the same time—integral life.

The main implication of Genesis is the "Genesis" meaning both 'origin, birth' and 'becoming' of manhood. The Seven Days of Genesis are traced along the path of the Sun, the Moon and the Planets through 'the heavens,'—the Zodiac. The first six days describe the stages of the spiritual path in connection with six stages of the Zodiac, each consisting of two signs. Each of the elements has three signs of the Zodiac. The Seventh Day of Genesis covers the same ground as the First Day. Their correspondence with the Zodiac symbolises also the division of the year into four or more commonly, six stages corresponding to the six seasons, the Hindu *ṛtus*. The seven pairs of houses for the seven days correspond to the seven *lokas* and seven *talas* of Indian tradition (भूलोक, etc. and अतल, etc).

Speaking of verse 28 of chapter I of the Book of Genesis, the author remarks most pertinently "The subtlest sins of all are the spiritual short-comings and they are the hardest to overcome." Commenting on the first three verses of chapter II relating to the Seventh Day, he writes "The 'rest' of the Seventh Day symbolises the supreme peace which lives within the soul of man who has been 'sanctified,' who has attained the mystical stage of self-realization" and adds "The wonder of it is, that this glorious state of peace is not taught to be attained in a here-after—though, once it is attained, it is for ever, here or here-after. The supreme union or peace can be attained during physical embodiment." He concludes his thesis in this book thus: "The Tradition is not 'handed down' in the world but lives in the collective unconscious......Therefore from time to time it needs 'revelations,' or 'unveiling' or 'resurrection.'"

EVOLUTION: PARADISE AND THE FALL

While the first chapter of Genesis portrays the return of man on his spiritual path from the state of complete ignorance of a higher life and involvement in egoistic worldly concerns, the second chapter describes the evolution of man and chapter three deals with the Fall. Verses 6 and 9 of the second chapter deal with Eden (Paradise), the end of evolution. The fourfold division of the year is the basic plan and is fundamental to all sacred tradition. The elements symbolise the 'states,' 'planes,' 'domains,' 'spheres' or 'heavens'—a symbolism fundamental and common to all the great religions and traditions of the world. Evolution is from earth (material world), water (feeling and emotions), fire (lower mind and knowledge of good and evil), to air (spiritual life, inspiration and intuition) and then Ether, the quintessence, the realm of the essential function of man comprising faith and insight, harmony and bliss—faith being unconscious insight, and insight conscious faith. The process of spiritual evolution also extends over four stages. The child starts its spiritual development when it begins to distinguish between the 'I' and 'Thou'. The peak of spiritual development is marked by a disappearance of this distinction. This supreme

state of At-one-ment which follows the spiritual state forms the fifth and final stage. In this ultimate state, the 'opposites' are united. It is re-entry into Paradise.

The Fall is traditionally conceived as taking place in the direction opposite to that of the spiritual path. The last stage of evolution forms the first stage of the Fall. Chapter three of Genesis depicts these. The serpent symbolises man's intelligence coming in the way of his spiritual function. The literalistic interpretation of Tradition makes the Fall possible, by substituting an intellectual view for a spiritual and intuitive grasp of the guiding lines of life. Modern man is grappling with a world of ethical problems which have sprung from creations of his intelligence. The atom (and hydrogen) bomb is the present form of the 'fire' stolen by the new Promethens from heaven at his own peril. There is an old saying : as a man thinks, so he becomes. If consciousness dwells on matters of earth, it will become as materialistic as the consciousness of stone or sand. In the Fall, man loses spiritual individuality : he becomes a herd-creature, a mere instrument of mass psychology. In the fourth or final stage of the Fall, man is interested only in food, in clothes, in physical pleasures and comfort and in all material devices to improve these. And the Flaming Sword of verse 24 is the creative power of thought, and in the present context, the fallen man's scientific and mechanical striving, the creative powers of the elements, Fire and Earth, meterialistic over-exertion and physical over-indulgence lead to over-production, over-complication and specialization of life and over-population. They breed the problem of the masses. For the great teachings applying to the Fall have reference both to world periods of human history and to private periods in the life of every individual.

The Book of Signs

Having dealt with the Root-Tradition in the first two books Dr. Mees proceeds to give a comprehensive account of the symbols and myths with a comparative study of the older traditions. He has drawn on Egyptian, Assyrian, Indian, Zoroastrian, Greek, Buddhist, Hebrew, Christian and Moslem mystic traditions. The

scheme of the symbols is the key for unlocking the knowledge of the physical processes of man. Related and even identical symbolic terms are seen to be in universal acceptance. He stresses that his interpretation of well-known teachings and rituals by no means exclude other interpretations. Tradition itself deals with limitations for the overcoming of the limitations set by character and life in the world. But Truth is always greater than its statement.

Humanity has a treasure-house with many rooms. The sacred teachings of old are universal and all-embracing. The light is born in the heart-cave of every human being, Christian or otherwise, when the time for its conversion on the Path of *ahamkāra* has come. The Church of God, truly universal or catholic, the community of the saints, is in the higher sense one and identical with the brotherhood of saints of other traditions. The man of great faith and insight, the mystic is a realist, for he knows that God, who is the substratum of all, IS, whereas everything else is perpectually changing. But the mystic has to continue living, expressing himself and teaching in the material four Elements. Symbolism is therefore derived from the natural processes that take place in the material world. The greatest spiritual experiences, not to speak of Divine realization, cannot be expressed in rational language. That which is of the nature of impression is insusceptiable of expression. Revelation, as impression or experience is an unveiling of spiritual truth, but as expression it is a veiling of the experience in matter of the lower or outer planes, through symbols (whether they be words, actions or figures). When sacred tradition is lost and forgotten in externalization, and when religion becomes a profession, the noblest possessions of humanity serve as instruments of bondage. S′iva or Christ or any other traditional forms of Fatherhood or Sonship do not exist in some external separate place or region, but dwell as fundamental aspects of Reality within the being of every man and woman. They are not "there," and to be seen "hereafter" but they are "here" and may be seen "now." The Reality of Life is here and now. The future is changed only by the attitude and deeds of the Present. If the present is forgotten in turmoil of worries and regrets, the past will continue to shape the future.

The vicious circle can be broken only by an Awakening out of the dream of causes-and-effects in time, to the ever-lasting Now.

There is nothing new in the world of tradition, though its expression in form changes with the charater of the times. There is no need for " new teachings. " Newness is found only in re-awakening, rebirth, resurrection. Revelation brings in liberation and expansion of consciousness. Great traditions of the world are all based on older traditions and claimed no novelty. Fragments of traditions are preserved everywhere and are scattered all over the world, in all fields of life. They are like the air which penetrates everywhere, upon which life depends, and which is yet unseen. Even the greatest visions convey their message only for the time when they come. In all parts of the world, established religion is the religion of " the Letter of the Law ". Within and without 'established religion' and its creeds and forms, the religion of the heart, which is private and individual, blossoms here and there. For it is timeless, ever ancient and ever modern.

Sin is really separation from God or Reality. To be 'whole' is to be united in God-Reality and to be entirely non-separate in being. The primal offence is the existence of a separate " I ". Enlightenment is strictly conditional on the extirpation of all notions of " I " and " mine ". As there was no Fall without the agency of individualism, so there is there is no progress towards God-Reality and harmonious relations in society except through the agency of individuals. The paradox that the mass man is the individualist and that the pioneer individual on the path of return is the universalist, should be kept in mind. To judge contemplatives living in retreat as being anxious only for their own enlightenment and therefore as shirkers of duty or escapists, ignores this fundamental truth; for in reality, the expression " One's own enlightenment " involves self-contradiction.

Such is the spirit underlying the thought-provoking books of Dr. Mees. The burden of his song is " Man has been learning to control matter. He has become progressively focussed in consciousness and egotism on the material plane. The robot has

risen against the spirit. The outer man is out of joint with the inner man. On account of the fragmentation of the Soul, the psyche is the scene, not only of a stuggle between the functions of spiritual life and the factor of form, but also between the human and animal factors, representing aspects of the higher and the lower man. If there is war in the outer world, it only results from the excessive struggle within the collective psyche of humanity. The traditional way to control war and restlessness in the world of social relations is by strengthening the powers of the higher man and controlling the 'raging passions' of the lower man—which everyone should do for himself."

Dr. Mees establishes his theme by a wealth of material drawn from all ancient traditions. To detail them will take us far beyond the scope of the review. We shall however give extracts from the diagrams contained in the companion volume, showing the fundamental symbolism and the parallels. (See Tables on pages 58 and 59.)

The Path of spiritual progress and the Fall are illustrated in the following :

The Path :

1. The five elements corresponding to the five *Jñanēndriyas* and five *karmēndriyas*.
2. The ten Rules of Buddhism commencing with Swear not.
3. The ten commaudments of Moses.
4. The ten *Yamās* and *Niyamās* of Patanjali's Yōga S'āstra.
5. The first ten qualities enumerated in the Bhagavad Gīta commencing with *Saucha*.
6. The ten higher qualities enumerated in the Bhagavad Gīta commencing with *ahaṁkara*.
7. The ten *parāmitas* (perfections) of Buddhism.
8. Houses of the Zodiac (excluding Acquarius and Pisches).

The Fall :

1. The ten Evils of Buddhism.
2. The ten fetters of Buddhism : the ten sins visiting Buddha under the Bodhi tree.

3. The ten petals of Manipura.
4. The ten weaknesses (enumerated in Kautilya's Artha-s'āstra).
5. The ten sins (enumerated by Manu):
6. The ten plagues of Egypt.

We should not be understood as accepting all that Dr. Mees says about the correspondences; nor is his "psychological etymology" free from objection in all cases. There are instances of strained concordance or forced similarities; for example, where *yajña* is made to yield *yaj* an *jña*; or *nirvāna* is associated with *vana* and *vana* is said to mean vain (empty, void) or with *nirvātam*, and *avātam* is read into it; or sin is associated with sunder. There is sometimes an attempt to find what he wishes, as, for example, on page 43 of "Evolution" there is little doubt that Isha of Genesis does not merely indicate a female form of "Ish" but suggests something more. It seems likely that it corresponds to what Hinduism calls "Ichcha" or desire. It is said to be from the Sanskrit root 'ish'. And in a footnote he indicates that the 'i' in 'ish' is a short vowel whereas 'I' in 'Ish' is a long one and that 'sh' is represented by a different letter in each word. Again on page 45 "Aham" means literally "I am He' (while the proper term is "So'ham.") in order to get his subsequent thesis. "The *ahaṁkara* is the movement away from unity and the *Ahaṁ* the movement back to it." The same remarks applies also to his attempt on page 80 to correct the translation of verse 24 of book 3 of Genesis, and his dictum on page 304 of the Book of Signs. "It is clear that the grouping in Buddha's precepts has moved away from the Zodical order to a grouping which has reference to the planes...The Mahāyana tradition is more intimately related to the Zoroastrian, Hebrew, Christian tradition. The Tibetan work 'The Supreme Path of Discipleship' though based on the canon of Buddhism has reverted to the original traditional division.......... The order within each of the two groups of ten virtues (Bhagavad Gīta) has been slightly adjusted."

A. V. RAMANATHAN

Psychological functions	Five Elements	Four kingdoms of Nature	The Four Elements	Five senses	Subdivisions of taste	Human organs of Action	Organs of Vegetable kingdom
Insight (Includiug Faith)	Ether (the quintessence)	...	...	Sight	Sweet	Organs of Speech	Top
Spiritual (Including Intuition)	Air	Spiritual	Sylphs	Hearing	Acid	Legs (movement)	Leaves
Lower Mental (Including Moral)	Fire	Animal	Salamander	Smell	Bitter	Hands (Control, giving etc.)	Stem and fruits
Feeling (Including erotic)	Water	Vegetable	Undines	Taste	Pungent	Organs of procreation	Sap and flowers
Physical	Earth	Material	Gnomes	Touch	Salt	Organs of excretion	Roots

Psychological functions and their substratum and Support	Seven spheres	Seven Astrological and mythological intelligences	Manifestations of Divinity	Genesis and manifestation of word	Seven Chakras	The Eternal and the Divisions of time
Being, God, The Self	Sun	...	Reality ; Divinity	Speaker	Hrihadaya (Central heart)	Aeon (*Ayuh*)
Consciousness and its creative dynamism	Moon	Sun (Michael) / Moon (Gabreil)	The Great Architect / Tradition = The Virgin mother	Voice	Sahasrara / Ajna	Second (*sukshma kāla*)
Insight (including Faith)	Ether or Light	Jupiter (Jehudiel)	Guru (essential)	Word	Visuddha	Minute (*nāzhika*)
Spiritual (including Intuition)	Air or Spirit	Mercury (Raphel)	The prophet (Spiritual)	Sound	Anahata	Hour (*muhūrta*)
Lower Mental (Including Moral)	Fire	Mars (Samuel or Ureil)	The Teacher (intellectual and moral)	Articulation (naming)	Manipura	Day (*ahorātram*)
Feeling (Including erotic)	Water	Venus (Barachiel)	The Compassinate (emotional)	Accentuation	Svadishtana	Month (*māsa*)
Physical	Earth	Saturn (Orifiel or Sealtiel)	Incarnation (Physical)	Reverbration	Mulādhara	Year (*varṣa*)

A.V.R.

The Bahamanis of the Deccan. (An Objective Study) By Professor H. K. Sherwani. Published by the Manager of Publications, Sadoo Manzil, Himayatnagar, Hyderabad-Deccan. Price. Rs. 15-0-0 or £ 1-10-0.

THE background for the birth of two strong well-knit kingdoms in the Deccan, namely, the empire of Vijayanagara and the Bahamani kingdoms has been set forth at considerable length in my book "The Founders of Vijayanagara" and it is hardly necessary to consider the same in detail in this review. The author Prof. Sherwani is well-known for his researches in South Indian history, more particularly with that part of the Deccan which is concerned with the Bahamani kingdom. He has already published in the series of "Short Studies in Indian History" a pamphlet on the Bahamani kingdom. In the book before us he has furnished a connected account of the growth and development of the Bahamani kingdom in the Deccan which played a large part in the history of Central India. The campaigns of Allauddin and Mallik Kafur had laid low the Deccan plateau and Deogiri had become known as Daulatabad. Yet the Muslim rulers of Delhi owing to insurrection and environmental disturbing conditions in the Delhi Sultanate itself were unable to consolidate the conquests in the south. Muhammad Tughluq's aggressive policy in the south menaced the Hindus threatening them with the complete destruction of their civilisation and religion. Harihara and his brother with the help of the Hoysala and the Kākatiya princes stood out as leaders of a movement and with the active assistance of Vidyāranya founded the Vijayanagara empire in 1336. A little later, also in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, was founded the Bahamani kingdom by one Hassan Gangu by about 1345-47 A.D. Hassan wàs once a servant of a Brahman who is said to have foretold of his coming glory. The name Bahamani is said to be derived not from Brahamin but from Bahaman a great Muhammadan hero.

Allah-ud-din Hassan had rescued the Deccan from Muhammad Tughluq. This Hassan was a servant of a Brahmin astrologer. His life was going on absolutely without colour until one day, while ploughing, the share caught in a chain attached to an old

copper vessel full of antique gold coins. This treasure-trove brought him to the king's notice: he was made captain of a hundred horse and he gradually rose to power and started the foundation of a dynasty which lasted close upon two centuries, later splitting into five separate states—Bijapur, Golconda, Berar, Ahamednagar and Hyderabad. At the time of Timur's invasion this dynasty was at the zenith of its fortunes. Absolute power, untold wealth, munificence, cruelty, passion, pride, prejudice, all the concomitants of an eastern potentate were there at the time. The celebrated Turquoise Throne itself fills the imagination with its 'enamel sky-blue colour,' cased in gold which was in time totally concealed by a number of precious ornaments, with the golden bal over the throne all inlaid with jewels on which sat a bird of paradise composed entirely of precious stones in whose head was a ruby of inestimable price presenting to us a picture of Eastern glamour. It is said that the kings of the Deccan went on ruling every now and again letting themselves loose on some minor rāja and killing a few thousand Hindus for the sake of the faith; every now and again ruling wisely and well, but as often as not badly and brutally. It may be when all ranks of the people reposed in security and peace nearly five hundred thousand unbelievers fell by the sword of Islamic with the result the population of the Carnātic was so much reduced that it did not recover for ages. This description of a devastated India is given by Flora Annie Steel in her book "India Through the Ages." It is further said that some of these precious potentates died in their beds, a larger portion of them were assassinated. Victim of passion, pride, branding of the eyes and lustful life for some time became the state of the Bahamanis of the Deccan.

The map shows how from a small beginning in 1358 it expanded so as to comprise the territory between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea east to west and from the Narmada to the Tungabhadra, north and south. The Deccan plateau is a very interesting part of the Indian peninsula with its mountains and forests and extremely helpful rivers and seaports. After referring to the geographical features in chapter one the professor mentions the antecedents to the foundation of the Bahamani kingdom in chapter two.

From 1249 when the Muslims from the north-west set their foot, till the time of Muhammad Tughluq there had been no effective occupation of the Deccan and at the same time Deccan did not remain long under Muhammad Tughluq's reign. The administrative efficiency of both the Vijayanagara empire and the Bahamani kingdom had remarkable similarities and they must have later on guided S'ivāji in his campaigns of the great Marāṭha empire. The third chapter relates to the family connection of the new king, his ambitions, factions opposed to the new administration, Qir Khan's revolt, the extent of the Bahamani dominions, the king's death and his mausolem. Chapter four relates to the reorganization of the state and furnishes details about the government machinery, the army, architecture, coinage and secret service. There were constant quarrels between the Bahamani states and the Vijayanagara empire for territories which became responsible for the decay of both. As regards fratricidal wars to which reference has been made before, the author very properly says that wars of religion while they were common in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was not so much frenzy in India. After all, in these casualities and massacres perpetuated by the soldiers of the Deccan, the muslims formed only a very small portion of the population. At this distance of time we cannot give much importance to the so-called killing of infidels. Under each reign the author mentions its characterstics political or otherwise or its influential aspects and the permanent features concerning it. His notes under each chapter are very helpful and well documented. The influence of Hindu culture was not lacking on the Bahamani rulers. Southern Muslims had imbibed the purely Hindu tradition of art and music and cultural reactions were very great. It is difficult to say to what extent, as the author mentions on page 147, there was intermixture of population belonging to the two religions, for trade and commerce were mostly in the hands of the Hindus and they were carrying on overseas sales and providing horses from Ormuz, elephants from Ceylon, musk and fur from China to the Court of the Bahamani sovereigns. Hindus were closely associated with the administration of the country and Deccan architecture bore remarkable Hindu influence. Firoz's

tomb was one of the sublime pieces of engineering skill and development of the Deccan architecture in time to come. One of the most prominent personages in the Bahamani kingdom was Muhammad Gawan who continued the policy of reconciling both the factions which formed the aristocracy of the Bahamani kingdom, namely the Dakhnis and the so-called Afaqis.* The period of ascendancy of Muhamad Gawan was between 1466 to 1473 A.D. Muhamad Gawan was a shrewd diplomat and the state attained great eminence during his time. The kingdom was made secure by the effective occapation of the Konkan territory as far south as Goa and the Godavari-Krishna doab was annexed in the east while expeditions were led to the heart of Orissa and the Coromandal littoral and as far as Karachi. The frontiers of the Bahamani realm extended from sea to sea. Gawan tried to hold the balance evenly between the old and the new and did his best to win over the sympathies of the Hindu population. A number of forts were completed. The great college of Bidar was maintained as a landmark of Deccan architecture. The ordinary folk was poor and the nobles were opulent. They were wont to be carried on silver beds preceded by twenty chargers caparisoned in gold and followed by three hundred men on horseback and five-hundred on foot along with ten torch-bearers and ten musicians. The palace was most wonderful to behold, for everything there was carved or gilded or otherwise ornamented. There was a court of justice and great care was taken for the safety of the inhabitants. Provincial administration was reformed on a utilitarian and scientific basis. The kingdom was divided into eight *sarlashkarships* or provinces of moderate size. The system of military administration was revolutioned and corruption and mismanagement were put down by a high hand. A systematic measurement of land was undertaken and boundaries of villages and towns were fixed. A thorough inquiry into the assessment of revenue was made. Gawan determined the income of the state, established the record of rights, curbed the power of the nobles and raised the status of the royal government at the centre The Bahamani kingdom became prominent amongst contemporary powers and created a good impression in the Muhammadan world. Gawan was accused of claiming a share with the

ruler by a division of the kingdom and he suffered martyrdom. The ruler himself shared a similar fate and Muhammad's reign is one of the tragedies in the history of the Deccan. The state did not continue much longer. The governors of the provinces became independent. The military of the Bahamani kingdom was practically in confusion and surrounded on all sides by rivals the Bahamani kingdom came to a close.

The list of authorities is full and the genealogy of the Bahamanis is accurate and instructive.

S.S.

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